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A Study of the Interpersonal Dimension of Narrative Fiction with Specific Reference to Power and Control in Muriel Spark's Memento Mori and its Implications for the Teaching of English Literature in a TEFL Context

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ABSTRACT

The underlying concern of this research is to demonstrate the relevance of a linguistic study of the interpersonal dimension of literary texts to the comprehension, description, and interpretation of texts belonging to literary genres in general and the teaching of English Literature in a TEFL context in particular.

The thesis investigates three interrelated issues. After a brief study firstly of the interpersonal function of language namely the expression of speaker attitude towards own role and that of the addressee in the speech situation and his/her personal commitment and attitude to what is being communicated and how this function is realized in language and secondly of the identities of the participants at each level of discourse in a literary text, it attempts to discover some of the ways in which interpersonal relationships are expressed among the participants at each level and (where possible) between the participants of different levels. It then takes one specific text Memento Mori by Muriel Spark (1959) and makes a linguistic investigation of the interpersonal relationships at various discourse levels in the novel. The thesis argues that the type of analysis employed plays a major role in the discovery that not only do the two interrelated aspects of power and control form the basis of the majority of the relationships but also feature as a major theme in the novel, points few literary analysts have taken note of and even those who have done so do not appear to have realized to what extent these concepts pervade the text and consequently have paid scant attention to them. The area selected for examination are the conversation structures, terms of address and reference, illocutionary acts, and register and discourse type echoes in the text; areas which have been identified by most researchers in the field of the 'linguistics of power' to be the key areas to be considered in any study of power-sensitive encounters. Finally, the thesis examines the pedagogical value of the study of the interpersonal dimension of literary texts for students of English Literature at the tertiary level in the teaching of English as a foreign language in a context such as in Burma, the home country of the researcher where the emphasis of the pre-University English course is on the ideational and the textual component of the language rather than on the interpersonal. While not in any way attempting to offer a method of handling it, the research does pinpoint, possibly describe and suggest some solutions to a key problem area for students which creates a hindrance to the full comprehension, description and interpretation of literary texts in English. This problem is traditionally attributed to socio-cultural differences between the learner and the norms implied in literature in the target language and teachers have often fail to take into account the linguistic dimension of socio-cultural differences.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis has been composed by myself and the work is my own.

Myo-Myint

October 1987

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Area of Research.

I see literary texts as discourse between the author and the reader as Fowler (1981) does. Fowler (1986: 86) defines discourse and looking at language as discourse as follows:

> Discourse is the whole complicated process of linguistic interaction between people uttering and comprehending texts. To study language as discourse requires, therefore, attention to facets of structure which relate to the participants in communication, the actions they perform through uttering texts, and the contexts within which discourse is conducted ... the form of language has developed in response to its discourse functions so as to provide the means of expression for all the personal actions, interpersonal relationships, and connections with context that are mediated through discourse.

Literary text however, as Leech and Short (1981) demonstrate are made up not of a single discourse but of layers of discourse one embedded in another functioning at the levels of author and reader, implied author and implied reader, narrator and interlocutor, character and character. In a literary text, the discourse participants at different discourse levels do not stand in isolation but form a network of interpersonal relations. It is this dimension of literary texts, in particular narrative fiction, which is the concern of this thesis. A study of the network of interpersonal relationships in literary texts involves the investigation of what point of view, attitudes, beliefs and judgements of one participant

towards another are and how they are transmitted.

Particular aspects of the network of relationships in a literary text have been studied before, usually as part of the study of narratology. Prince (1982) has focus ed his attention on the narrator and what he calls the narratee in the text and has made interesting observations about the traces of dialogue between the two. Uspensky (1973) as part of his study of different planes in a literary text has looked at certain aspects of the narrator-character relationship in connection with his study of the ideological and phraseological planes of the discourse. In his work he has most interestingly demonstrated the use of naming conventions in literary texts and how it is related to the ideology of the text. Similarly Genette (1980) made a study of different types of narrators at different levels of narration. Lanser (1981) in her book The Narrative Act : Point of View in Prose Fiction has brought a great deal of the results of the studies mentioned and she has succeeded in giving a comprehensive picture of the narrator and to a certain extent of the narratee and we also get glimpses of the narrator-character relationship in her discussion of the narrator. However all these works as studies of narrative discourse are very much narrator centred and their focus is obviously not on the narrator as a discourse participant.

Three researchers who have shown great interest in the interactional dimension of the text are Leech and Short (1981) and as will be obvious from the quotation at the beginning of this

section, and Fowler (1977, 1981,1986). In the last chapter of Leech and Short's book Style in Fiction, they concentrate on the interpersonal aspect of the text and exemplify it with linguistic analyses of short extracts from a vast spectrum of authors ranging from Fielding, Sterne and Jane Austen to Faulkner, Nabokov and Kersey. Of particular interest is their pragmatic analysis of a passage from One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest in which they are able to demonstrate what can be gained from applying such an analysis to literary texts.

Fowler's interest in the discourse aspect of literary texts appears to be a long standing one judging from his numerous publications on the subject. In Linguistics & The Novel (1977) he deals with different types of authorial and narrative voices from different periods demonstrating the different modes of discourse employed by various narrators. With regard to the relationship between character and author, he examines it mainly in terms of the perspective through which a character's thoughts and desires are viewed by the author.

In Linguistic Criticism (1986) he strongly advocates viewing texts as discourse, "as interaction between speakers and addressees real, implied, or fictional" and asserts that it is a most important emphasis "as a corrective to the view in literary criticism of texts as objects rather than as 'verbal icons', 'monuments' or 'well-wrought urns' " (p.102). Drawing from studies in speech acts, conversation analysis and Grice's conversational maxims he analyses extracts from plays

"to show how sequencing, speech acts and implicature are deployed to create a verbal illusion of interaction in plays" (p.109). Noteworthy is his comment about dialogue interaction in short stories and novels in his comparison of the wholly dialogue feature of the play and the mix of dialogue with monologic narrative and commentary of the former:

> At first glance there might appear to be a very sharp distinction between passages of dialogue, where the characters' voices seem to take the stage, and passages of prose writing where the narrative takes charge. But in fact, narrative discourse engages in another class of dialogic interactions: between the narrator and the characters, and between the narrator and the reader. By 'dialogic' here I do not refer to text which has the superficial structure of dialogue, i.e. language which is set our as different 'speeches' attributed to different 'speakers'; rather, this is an implicit dialogue where the language implies an interaction of views or values, or more overtly (...) the presence of an attentive and thinking 'narratee'.
>
> (Fowler (1986: 118-9)).

In my thesis I intend to deal with the dialogic aspect of the narrator's discourse as part of my study of the interpersonal dimension. While there is no denying that both Leech and Short's and Fowler's works have provided valuable insight into the interpersonal dimension of literary texts, nevertheless, since their investigations form only a part of their linguistic study of the novel and their analyses are confined to short extracts from literary texts, the impact of their studies and the contributions the study of this area could make in the comprehension and interpretation of a literary work may not be as great as they deserve to be. To remedy the second shortcoming in my study the main body of the analysis will be based

on a single work. However due to my interest in one type of interpersonal relationship which I feel forms a major theme in the work, the focus of my study has unavoidably had to be limited to the character-character interaction level.

1.2 The Text.

The text which forms the core of my study is Memento Mori by Muriel Spark (1959). My interest in the novel was first aroused by the behaviour patterns of the characters in the novel, the majority of whom are in their late seventies and eighties, which contrast sharply with the lives and behaviour of the elderly in my own society. While not in any way suggesting that the behaviour of the characters in the novel is typical of the elderly in the West, the novel does reflect some of the difficulties and way of life of elderly people in western societies. The trials and tribulations these old people face are of course not restricted to a particular society or culture. Careful and repeated reading of the text and my focus on the interpersonal network suggested to me that although the work is about old age and death and a need to hold a religious (Catholic) view of these in order to gain a proper perspective on them there appears to be another dimension of the text which to my knowledge few critics have given attention to, but which is important enough to merit investigation. This is the theme of man's need to exercise some kind of power and control over others and the futility of this enterprise particularly seen in the light of the ideological framework of the novel which calls for a recognition of God's will and design and His power over man. This is made more poignant in the novel since the majority of the characters involved in the power game are all at an advanced stage of their lives. My belief in the existence of this theme

in the novel was greatly strengthened when I read Muriel Spark's account of how she came to write the book which stems from her visits to the hospital to visit elderly patients, particularly the following sentence:

> They were paralysed or crippled in body, yet were still exerting characteristic influences on those around them and in the world outside.
>
> (quoted in Kemp (1974: 38)).

In this thesis I hope to be able to produce adequate evidence to substantiate my claim as part of my study of the interpersonal dimension of the text.

1.3 The Approach.

The approach adopted in this study is similar to those of Leech and Short (1981) and Fowler (1977; 1986) in their respective studies of literary texts as discourse and applies techniques, concepts and insights from linguistics and allied disciplines and is consistent with the practices of literary stylistics which applies techniques and concepts drawn from linguistics to the study of literature. Since this discipline has in my opinion reached sufficient maturity and its usefulness is gaining increasing recognition from literary analysts and teachers of literature, I do not think the approach I have adopted needs any major defence seen especially in the light of the area I am interested in. A short quotation from Leech and Short (1981) should be adequate in the defence of carrying out a linguistic analysis of the text:

> By making ourselves explain how a particular effect or meaning is achieved we understand better not just how it is achieved (which is essential to the critical task of explanation) but also gain a greater appreciation of what the writer has created.
>
> (p.2)

My approach may be said to be based on "inclusive" (socio-linguistics) stylistics' (cf Fowler (1981)) that emphasizes the relationship of language to social context. Since my interest is primarily in the discourse aspect of literary texts and discourse participants, the linguistic framework for the analysis of the text is based on insights, concepts and techniques drawn from pragmatics, discourse analysis, functional

grammar, and sociolinguistics. About half of my text analysis may be said to be based on insights and concepts borrowed from conversational analysis. The concept of power and control are drawn from sociology and social psychology.

1.4 Pedagogical Implications.

It is hoped that this research will be of some value in the teaching of English Literature in English as a foreign language context. There is little doubt that an awareness of the interpersonal network in a literary text under study goes a long way to assist in the comprehension, interpretation and evaluation of the text. However as will become obvious when we come to the analysis of the text, in order to carry out a study of this dimension of the text the students need to possess not only a linguistic competence in the language but also a communicative competence, since a great deal of sociolinguistic knowledge is involved in literary text processing as there is a greater exploitation in interpersonal meaning in literary texts than in informative texts. It is hoped that the discussion on how to develop the students' competence to handle the interactional aspect of literary texts will have some bearing on how to improve the language consciousness of literature students in general in order to make them efficient and independent analysts of literary texts.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis.

Chapter 2: The Nature of Literary Discourse.

This chapter introduces the notion of viewing literary texts as discourse. It examines the different levels of discourse in a conventional literary text and the discourse participants found at each level.

Chapter 3: The Interpersonal Dimension.

This chapter first discusses the term interpersonal as used in social psychology and examines other interrelated concepts such as interpersonal relations and interpersonal needs. It then presents the interpersonal function of language as defined by Halliday who first introduced the term with reference to the expressive function of language. The constituents of the clause that convey interpersonal meaning are presented next. It then goes on to argue for the recognition of a discourse role: a role distinct from the clause based interactional role proposed by Halliday and demonstrates its function in making choices from options available in the language-system.

Chapter 4: The Interpersonal Dimension of Narrative Fiction.

This chapter investigates the interpersonal network in narrative fiction in texts that contain the same number of discourse levels as the type of text presented in Chapter 2. It examines four types of relationships namely narrator - implied reader

narrator-character, character-character and actual reader/ implied reader-character relationships, and how interpersonal meaning is transmitted in each relationship.

Chapter 5. Power and Interpersonal Relationships.

In this chapter we shall be considering the concept of power in relation to interpersonal relationships and see what factors are involved in a power relationship. We then examine each factor in turn and discuss its features. In the final section, we discuss briefly the results of three researches that have been conducted to find out the way interpersonal power or lack of it influences the way participants interact within institutional settings.

Chapter 6. Looking Beyond Old Age, Decrepitude and Death in Memento Mori.

This chapter first discusses the interpretations of various critics with regards to the themes in Memento Mori. It then presents an alternative theme viz power and control and seeks to validate the claim with an analysis of the character relationships using the concepts presented in Chaper 3.

Chapter 7. Conversation Structure in Memento Mori.

This chapter contains two sections. The first section presents concepts and insights from conversation analysis and pragmatics and relates them to the concepts of power and control. In the second section we make an analysis of

character interactions in the text to find out how interpersonal power influences the conversation structure.

Chapter 8. How They Do Things With Words In Memento Mori.

Like the previous chapter, this chapter also consists of two parts. The first part discusses language features such as terms of address and terms of reference, speech-acts and selective register features and discourse types and examines them from the point of view of power and control. The second part investigates character interactions in the text and sees in what way the features mentioned in the first part are exploited in delineating, maintaining and changing power status in the character relationship concerned.

Chapter 9. The Interpersonal Dimension of Narrative Fiction and its Implications for the Teaching of English Literature in a TEFL Context.

In this chapter the focus is on the pedagogical implications of the study of the interpersonal dimension of narrative fiction for the teaching and learning of English literature in a TEFL context. It raises such issues as the kind of language competence involved in studying this facet of the literary text, in what way the competence necessary can be developed and the need to establish links between literature and language teaching.

1.6 Scope of Research.

As a study based exclusively on literary stylistics principles and aimed at providing a linguistic explication of the area under focus, neither the biography of the author nor the background to the story will be considered. Nor will other works of Muriel Spark be cited to validate any claim made.

The passages from the text and the references are based on the Penguin paperback edition published in Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1984.

CHAPTER 2.

THE NATURE OF LITERARY DISCOURSE.

2.0 OUTLINE

In this chapter we shall be mainly concerned with the different levels of discourse discoverable in a literary text. As a starting point we examine Leech and Short's (1981) model of discourse relations in a novel. We next investigate each level and the discourse participants concerned. The discourse levels to be discussed are the Author-Reader level, the Implied Author-Implied Reader level, the Narrator-Interlocutor level and Character-Character level. It is to be noted that since the focus of this chapter is limited to the basic discourse structure in narrative fiction, the discussion is limited to these four levels. This however, should not be taken as a denial of the existence of more complex discourse structures in literary texts .

2.1 Introduction.

The major classes which are posited for literary texts are to a certain extent dependent on the way literary texts are viewed. For Fowler (1981: 7) who views literary texts as "a kind of discourse, a language activity within a social structure like other forms of discourse" the major classes are text, discourse and context. Text is "textual surface-structure, the most 'perceptible', 'visible' dimension of a work" and he includes other physical aspects of texts such as typography and paragraphing under textual structure. On the other hand, dis-

course is concerned with concepts like 'dialogue', 'point of view', 'attitude', 'world view' and 'tone'. These are "the indication in language structure of the author's beliefs, the character of his thought processes, the type of judgement he makes, particularly for the narrator and the whole network of interpersonal relationships between author, characters and implied reader". By content Fowler means plot, character, setting, and theme structure. (All quotations from Fowler (1977: 45)).

Leech and Short (1981) who uphold a "multilevel, multifunctional view of style" (p.58) believe it useful to "give an account of the relations between stylistic choice and significance within a functional framework" (pp.145-6) concentrating on three different aspects of a literary work of fiction which are not dissimilar to Fowler's (1977) three classes. These are:

work as MESSAGE	(ideational function)
work as TEXT	(textual function)
work as DISCOURSE	(interpersonal function)

Leech and Short (op cit: 209) define text as "linguistic communication (either spoken or written) seen simply as a message coded in its auditory or visual medium" and discourse as "linguistic communication seen as a transaction between speaker and hearer, as an interpersonal activity whose form is determined by its social purpose". Such a view of literary discourse presupposes that it entails (1) an addresser and addressee, (2) language used simultaneously to express meaning

as well as to achieve social interaction and (3) a context in which the transaction takes place. Thus if we are to see a literary text as discourse, as Leech and Short (1981) do, one would see it as a means of interaction between the author and the reader within the social structure and not simply as a crystallized object placed before the reader for him/her to extract whatever meaning is encoded in it. In this chapter we shall be examining the structure of a literary text as discourse and will be focusing on the different levels of discourse one embedded in each other in a literary text and the participants at each level.

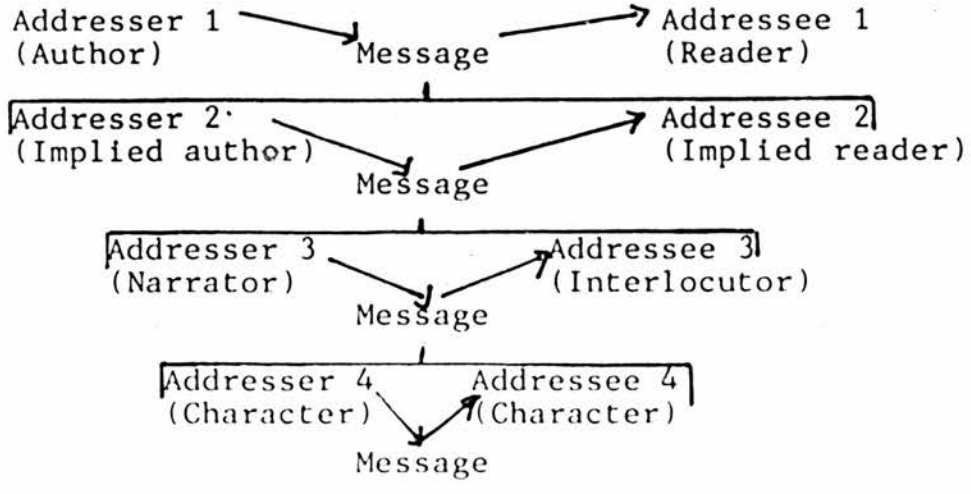
2.2 Levels of Discourse and Participants.

In our daily conversations there are frequent occurrences of 'embedded discourse' as when we relate to someone a conversation that has occurred between ourselves and another person or between two other persons. In literary texts such embedded discourse arises frequently, but as Leech and Short (1981: 146) point out, the embedding process can be much more complex:

> ...we not only have to account for the literary work itself as a discourse between author and reader, but we have to reckon with the phenomenon of 'embedded discourse': the occurrence of discourse within discourse, as when the author reports dialogue between fictional characters. In this light a novel is not a single discourse but a complex of many discourses.

After analysing the discourse structure of a number of works of fiction, Leech and Short arrived at the following diagram of the discourse relationships in a novel:

Figure 1. Discourse Relationships in a Novel.



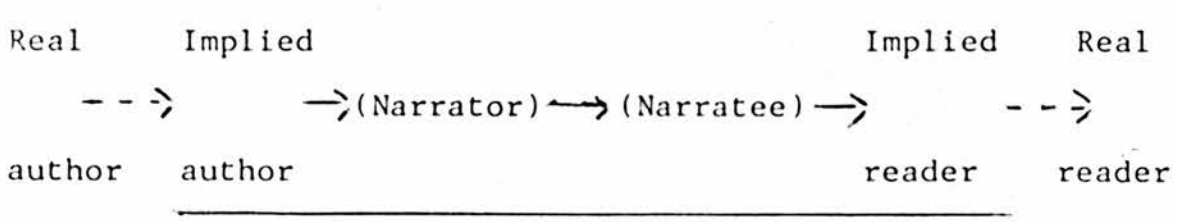
(from Leech and Short: 1981: 269)

The four levels of discourse they propose can be said to constitute the basic framework of the discourse relations in a work of fiction. However, further embedding can occur at the character-character interaction level when "a character whose actions are the object of narration can himself in turn engage in narrating a story" (Rimmon-Kenan (1983: 91)). We shall now look at the various interaction levels and their participants.

2.2.1 Level One: Author-Reader.

Chatman (1978: 151) in his analysis of the narrative transaction puts forward the following diagram:

Figure 2; Narrative Transaction



(cited in Rimmon-Kenan (1983: 86)).

It will be noted that both the real author and the real reader have been left outside the narrative transaction proper. Many critics share Chatman's view offering various reasons for doing so. Leech and Short (1981: 261) observe that "we usually do not know the opinion of the real author except by inference from what he writes". Rimmon-Kenan (1983: 87) following Booth (1961) suggests that "an author may embody in a work ideas, beliefs, emotions other than or even quite opposite to

those he has in life: he may also embody different ideas, beliefs and emotions in different works. Thus while the flesh and blood author is subject to the vicissitudes of real life, the implied author of a particular work is conceived as a stable entity, ideally consistent with itself within the work". Blanchot (1955: 12) goes as far as to say "And the work finally ignores him, it closes itself in his absence, in an impersonal, affirmation, and nothing more" (quoted by Corti (1978: 21)).

On the other hand, Corti (1978) points out that there are occasions when we do need to take the real author into consideration. She cites two such instances. The first is a literary text Ur Partigiano Johnny by Peppe Fenoglio. She states that not only does the work have the same chronological boundaries as the events lived by its author but on a structural level too there was absolute identification between the implied author and the work's protagonist. She warns that when homologies between the textual and extratextual do exist, they must be dealt with because to ignore them would diminish the text. The other case Corti cites is the poetic text Toilette by Eluard in which the poet refers to the situation in which he was implicated. Corti reports that an ignorance of the situation to which the poet alludes has led to some ten different readings, due to the selections of the wrong situational indices resulting in not an enrichment but a reduction of the message. Moreover, while an author may as Rimmon-Kenan says embody different ideas, beliefs and emotions in different works there are also instances when he/she may be consistent in his/her stand on certain issues.

If we wish to consider such issues, we may need to go from the textual to the extratextual ie perhaps to the biography and other studies in connection with the life of the author to find the answer.

While there is no problem in establishing the identity of the author of a work, unless of course he/she wishes to remain anonymous, identifying the real reader poses more problems. Theoretically any person literate in the language in which a work is produced is a potential reader. But in practice certain readers prefer certain types of books and just as we, as readers are selective in what we read, so also is the author in his/her choice of readership: it may embrace the whole readership or just a slice of it as in the case of women's weekly type of romances.

A discourse will not be fully communicative unless the addresser has some specific addressee in mind and this is no different in the case of literary discourse since as Eco (1979: 7) notes:

> To make his text communicative, the author has to assume that the ensemble of codes he relies upon is the same as that shared by his reader (hereafter Model Reader) supposedly able to deal interpretatively with the expressions in the same way as the author deals generatively with them.

The crucial point concerning the reader is the fact that the interpretation of a work rests in his/her hands. The author needs the co-operation of the reader if whatever he/she has encoded in the text is to receive a full interpretation. Reading is a complex task and interpretation of a literary text is all the more difficult. For the actual reader, the

most important task for him/her is to approximate the role of the reader encoded in the text as Ruthrof (1981: 122) observes: "In any specific reading situation the actual reader's construction of the implied reader is central to the establishment of narrative meaning".

From the point of view of discourse, the real reader must be said to interact not with the real author but with the narrator whom Iser (1974: 103) calls "the man who communicates directly with the reader". This will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.2.3.

2.2.2 Level Two: Implied Author - Implied Reader.

In his discussion about authors, Booth (1961: 70) notes that as an author writes he creates not simply an ideal impersonal "man in general" but an implied version of "himself". He further observes:

> However impersonal he may try to be, his reader will inevitably construct a picture of the official scribe who writes in this manner - and of course that official scribe will never be neutral towards all values. Our reactions to his various commitments, secret or overt, will help to determine our responses to the work.

This 'official scribe' is only one version of the author for "regardless of how sincere an author may try to be his different works will imply different versions, different ideal combination of norms" (ibid). Thus the norms of a work must be seen as deriving from the implied version of the author - the implied author.

Just as there is an implied author, so also there is an implied reader:

> ... a hypothetical personage who shares with the author not just background knowledge but also a set of presuppositions, sympathies and standards of what is pleasant and unpleasant, good and bad, right and wrong.
>
> (Leech and Short (1981:259)).

Thus this "built-in" reader shares the author's norms and he/she is together with the implied author in "Secret Communion" (Booth (1961: 300)) with him/her. To get into the narration the real reader has to be aware of the qualities that an author requires of his/her version of the reader:

> For a reader to 'suspend his disbelief' and become the appropriate reader he has not just to make himself aware of certain facts but also to make all kinds of allowances, linguistic, social and moral, for the reader whom the author is addressing.
>
> (Leech and Short (1981: 259-60)).

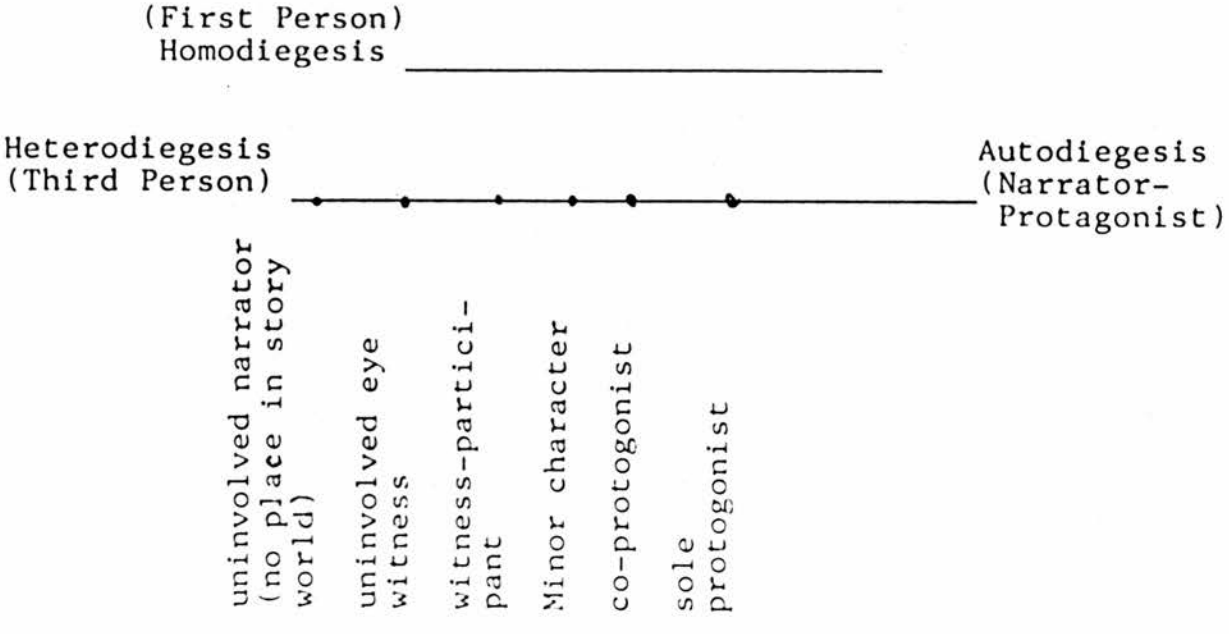
The implied author - implied reader discourse is thus both textual as well extratextual and their relationship may undergo changes as the narration proceeds.

2.2.3 Level Three: Narrator - Interlocutor.

The narrator has been variously defined as 'the "I" of a work' (Booth (1961: 71)), "the narrative voice or speaker of a text" (Rimmon-Kenan (1983: 87)), "the man who communicates directly with the reader" (Iser (1974: 103)). The common factor in all three definitions is the status of 'person' that has been conferred on the narrator. Whatever form the narrator takes he is the perceived voice that is in direct discourse with the reader.

Basically, narrators are classified according to whether they choose to identify themselves as 'I' - first person narrators and those who choose not to refer to themselves at all- third person narrators "because the events narrated refer to third persons" (Prince (1982: 15)). According to Prince (ibid) when the narrator is a character, he may be the protagonist, an important character or a mere observer. Below is a diagram from Lanser (1981: 160) which shows the possible types of narrators:

Figure 3. Possible Realisations of Narrator.



From a discourse point of view, it is worth noting that "the choice of a first person narrator where the 'I' is also a primary character in the story produces a personal relationship with the reader which inevitably leads to bias the reader in favour of the narrator/character" (Leech and Short (1981: 265)). On the other hand, Leech and Short (op cit) say that the absence of an 'I' makes the reader assume that there is no explicit "you" and hence make the reader feel that the narration is presented direct to him/her.

Just as we can distinguish two main types of narrators, similarly we can distinguish two main types of interlocutors or narratees as Prince (1982) and some others have called them. The first type which Prince (1982: 20) calls narratee - character is a participant in the events recounted to him/her like Marlow's audience in Heart of Darkness. The second type is where no trace exists at all of an interlocutor. Between these two poles is the reader-narratee where the interlocutor is openly addressed as "Reader" as in Fielding's Tom Jones or by some other such term, and texts where there is no overt addressee but some signs that acknowledges the presence of an interlocutor. Prince (1982) mentions several of these. Among them are inclusive use of "we" and "us", questions and pseudo-questions from the narrator, negations and affirmations as in the following examples.

> "No, it was not to see his mistress that Vincent Molinier went out every night".
>
> "I walk for whole nights, I dream, or I talk to myself interminably. Like tonight, yes" (La Chute)
>
> (Examples from Prince (1982: 18-19).

In the cases where no reference is made to the interlocutor by the narrator, Leech and Short (1981: 266) claim that the interlocutor and the implied reader are merged and "the narrator is therefore seen to directly address the reader with no intermediary".

From the point of view of the reader, the lack of 'I' "invites the reader to collapse the addresser side of the novel's discourse status so that implied author and narrator become merged." Leech and Short (op cit) report that for this reason most third person narrators are omniscent "since they stand in the place of the implied author they take on his absolute knowledge" (p.266).

2.2.4 Level Four: Character-Character.

This is the most deeply embedded of the four levels of discourse in a literary text, and as Leech and Short (1981) point out discourse at this level is marked by the fact that messages can be transmitted in either direction. This level can also be said to be the most mimetic of the way interaction is carried out in the "world outside". Unless otherwise stated in the work, the discourse conducted by the characters is usually governed by the pragmatic rules guiding our conversation in the real world. Thus the strategies adopted in encoding and decoding messages by the characters are more or less the same as those used by the actual reader. This aspect will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERPERSONAL DIMENSION

3.1 Introduction.

In this chapter our focus of attention is on the interpersonal dimension of language. However, before we embark on the study of this aspect of language, it will be useful to see how the term is defined in the field of social psychology from which the term probably originated and also find out how related concepts such as interpersonal relation are defined.

In section 3.3 we shall study Halliday's definition of the term as a concept in the study of language. We next examine the interpersonal function of language and see which linguistic devices convey interpersonal meaning. In section 3.4 we introduce the concept of roles in discourse which is a more specific category than the linguistic roles at the clause level which is Halliday's main concern. This category is related to person indices in terms of the scales of proximity, power and polarity.

3.2 Interpersonal Relations.

Schultz (1966: 14) defines the term interpersonal as "relations that occur between people as opposed to relations in which at least one participant is inanimate". He claims that there are three basic interpersonal needs: (1) the need for inclusion which is "the need to establish and maintain a satisfactory relation with respect to interaction and association" (p.18); (2) the need for control which is "the need to establish and maintain a satisfactory relationship with people with respect to control and power" (p.18) and (3) the need for affection which is "the need to establish and maintain a satisfactory relation with others with respect to love and affection" (p.20). Bennis et al (1969) claim that all interpersonal relations are oriented toward some primary goal and they distinguish four types of relationship based on the goal each has (pp.648-9) and these are summarized below:

Type A: Expressive-emotional: a relationship formed for the purpose of fulfilling itself such as love, marriage or friendship.

Type B: Confirmatory: There are two kinds - (1) information about the "self" or about the relationship such as in the relationship of friends who help each other find their identity and (2) information about the environment or a definition of the situation. An example of such a relationship is of a social group such as a fraternity where the norms of the group establish certain social realities.

Type C: Change or Influence : One or both parties in the relationship come together to create change in each other or to the relationship. The main transaction involved between the change-agent and change-target is information about the desired state to be achieved and feed back on how the target is doing. Examples are psychiatrist-patient, teacher-student and parent-child relationships.

Type D: Instrumental: A relationship formed in order to achieve some goal or task and the main type of interpersonal exchange is information about the task. Relations between a conductor and his violin section or a foreman and his work team are examples of such a relationship.

Bennis et al (1969) make clear that the above mentioned relationships are not discrete entities and that they can be found in mixed forms or one kind of relationship could be transformed into another.

There are other ways of looking at interpersonal relationships and Fielding and Fraser (1978: 219) makes note of some of these as follows:

> Analysis of both the objective and subjective structures of interpersonal relations have converged upon a description of two, bipolar, orthogonal dimensions, for example Foa (1962). These two dimensions have been consistently identified but variously labelled. Lorr and McNair (1963, 1965) and Leary (1957) described them as the affection, hostility and dominance-submission dimensions. The affection-hostility dimension appears to correspond to the love-hostility dimension extracted by Schaefer (1959), to the associative-disassociative factor identified by Triandis et al (1966), the superordinate-subordinate

factor of Triandis et al (1966), and Osgood et al's (1957) potency dimension.

In his study of interpersonal relations, Heider (1958) seeks to investigate "how one person thinks and feels about another person, how he perceives him and what he does to him, what he expects him to do or think, how he reacts to the actions of the other" (p.1). Moreover he points out that in dealing with a person as a member of a dyad he must be represented as being in relation to an interaction with another person and hence the psychological world of the other person as seen by the subject must also be taken into account in an analysis. How one member of a dyad perceives the other and his/her attitudes towards the other, etc are discernible in language, the main means of communication for human beings, and this forms the subject of the next section.

3.3 The Interpersonal Dimension of Language.

One of the linguists who gives recognition to the fact that language is not just used for the communication of factual information but also for conveying social and expressive information is Halliday (Lyons (1977)). Halliday maintains a functional view of language. He lays stress on the relationship between the nature of language and the functions it has to serve (Halliday (1970)). He distinguishes three functions of language:

> Those of the first set, the ideational are concerned with the content of language, its function as a means of the expression of our experience, both of the external world and of the inner world of our consciousness - together with what is perhaps a separate sub-component expressing certain basic logical relations. The second, the interpersonal, is language as the mediator of role, including all that may be understood by the expression of our personalities and personal feelings on the one hand, and forms of interaction and social interplay with other participants in the communication situation on the other hand. The third component, the textual, has an enabling function, that of creating text, which is language in operation as distinct from strings of words or isolated sentences and clauses. It is this component that enables the speaker to organize what he is saying in such a way that it makes sense in the context and fulfils its function as message.
>
> (1973: 66)

It must be noted that the functions are simultaneously realized: "a clause in English is the simultaneous realization of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning" (Halliday (1973: 42). The interpersonal function is defined in greater detail in the following extract:

> Here, the speaker is using language as the means of his own intrusion into the speech event: the expression of his comment, his attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship that he sets up between himself and the listener - in particular, the communicative role that he adopts, of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading and the like. The interpersonal function thus subsumes both the expressive and the conative, which are not in fact distinct in the linguistic system: to give one example, the meanings 'I do not know' (expressive) and 'you tell me' (conative) are combined in a single semantic feature, that of question, typically expressed in the grammar by an interrogative; the interrogative is both expressive and conative at the same time.
>
> Halliday (1973: 106-7)

According to Halliday the interpersonal element is represented in the clause by mood and modality, mood expressing the selection of role by the speaker and the role he assigns to the addressee and modality the speaker's judgements and predictions (Halliday (op cit: 41)). Halliday gives an example of the way the mood system works when he discusses the interrogative, the choice of which he said means "I am acting as questioner (seeker of information) and you are to act as listener and then as answerer (supplier of information)" (Halliday (op cit: 56)).

According to Halliday (1985) the following constituents of the clause express interpersonal meaning:

Table 1.

Modal Operators

These express the speaker's judgement with regards to the probabilities or the obligations involved in what he/she is saying.

Low	Medium	High
can, may	will	must, ought to
could, might	would, should	need
	is to, was to	has to, had to

Table 2.

Mood Adjuncts.

Mood Adjuncts "relate specifically to the meaning of the finite verbal operators expressing probability usuality, obligation, inclination or time" (p.82)

Type	Meaning	Example
probability	how likely/obvious	probably, perhaps
usuality	how often/typical	usually, seldom
opinion	I think	in my opinion

Table 3

Comment Adjuncts

Comment Adjuncts "express the speaker's comment on what he is saying" (p.83)

Type	Meaning	Example
admissive	I admit	frankly
assertive	I assure you	honestly
presumptive	how presumable	evidently
tentative	how constraint	initially
validative	how valid	broadly speaking

Table 3 (Cont'd)

Type	meaning	Example
evaluative	how sensible	wisely
predictive	how expected	to my surprise
desiderative	how desirable	(un) fortunately

Nominal Group.

Interpersonal meanings are embodied in:

(a) pronoun system both as pronoun (person, as thing, eg. she, you).

(b) Attitudinal type of epithets eg. splendid.

(c) Connotative meanings of lexical items functioning in the group.

(d) Prosodic features such as swear words and voice quality.

3.4 Roles in Discourse.

In talking about the relationship that the speaker sets up between himself/herself and the listener, quoted in the previous section, Halliday (1973) appears to be dealing with the most basic of interactional roles ie communication roles at the clause level. However at the discourse level what is more important is the expression of social roles which are based among others on person indices. Each person may be said to possess attributes which reveal his/her personal characteristics. These indices may be grouped as below:

Social: occupation, status, race, role in relation to addressee, etc.

psychological: needs, beliefs, likes, dislikes, etc.

biological: age, sex, physical appearance, etc.

Depending on these indices, each participant will map out the other on the following scales:

Figure 4. Three Scales of Comparison

Power (p^1)	Proximity (p^2)	Polarity (p^3)
superordinate	intimacy	positive
|	|	|
subordinate	distance	negative

the first two scales have been adopted from Leech (1983). The first plots out the position in terms of the power a person has over another and the second defines the person's position in terms of social distance. The third scale, polarity has been introduced to take into account the inter-personal meanings regarding attitudes and judgements expressed

towards the other. This scale is not a radical one since it merely reflects the existence of polarity in the mood system as well as in antonyms and other expressions. Any one or more of the differences and similarities in terms of the indices as plotted out on the scales can be expressed through a variety of linguistic devices. A simple example is the use of naming and reference (cf Chapter 8) to reflect the different types of relationships that exist between speaker and addressee. The various gradation on the different scales can be expressed in the same utterance as when a major says to his corporal:

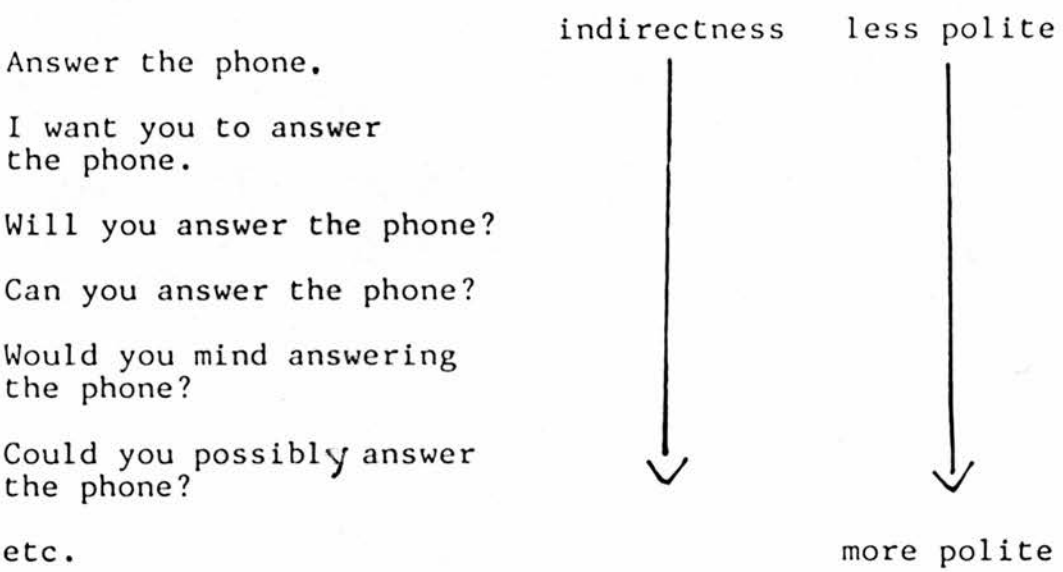
> Corporal Smith, could you possibly be saying that I made the wrong decision?

The address form corporal defines the role relationship on the power scale, the over politeness expressing social distance and the reprimand in the form of an interrogative expressing negative connotation.

To make the role of indices and interactional scales clearer, it will be useful to present it in the form of a figure. The first half is adapted from Halliday (1985: 69). He distinguishes four primary speech functions viz offer, command, statement, and question. These in turn are related to a set of expected responses: accepting an offer, carrying out a command, acknowledging a statement and answering a question. Halliday claims that in moving into the role of speaker, there are alternatives open to the person: instead of acceptance he/she can opt for rejection; instead of choosing to carry out a command he/she can express a refusal; instead of acknowledging

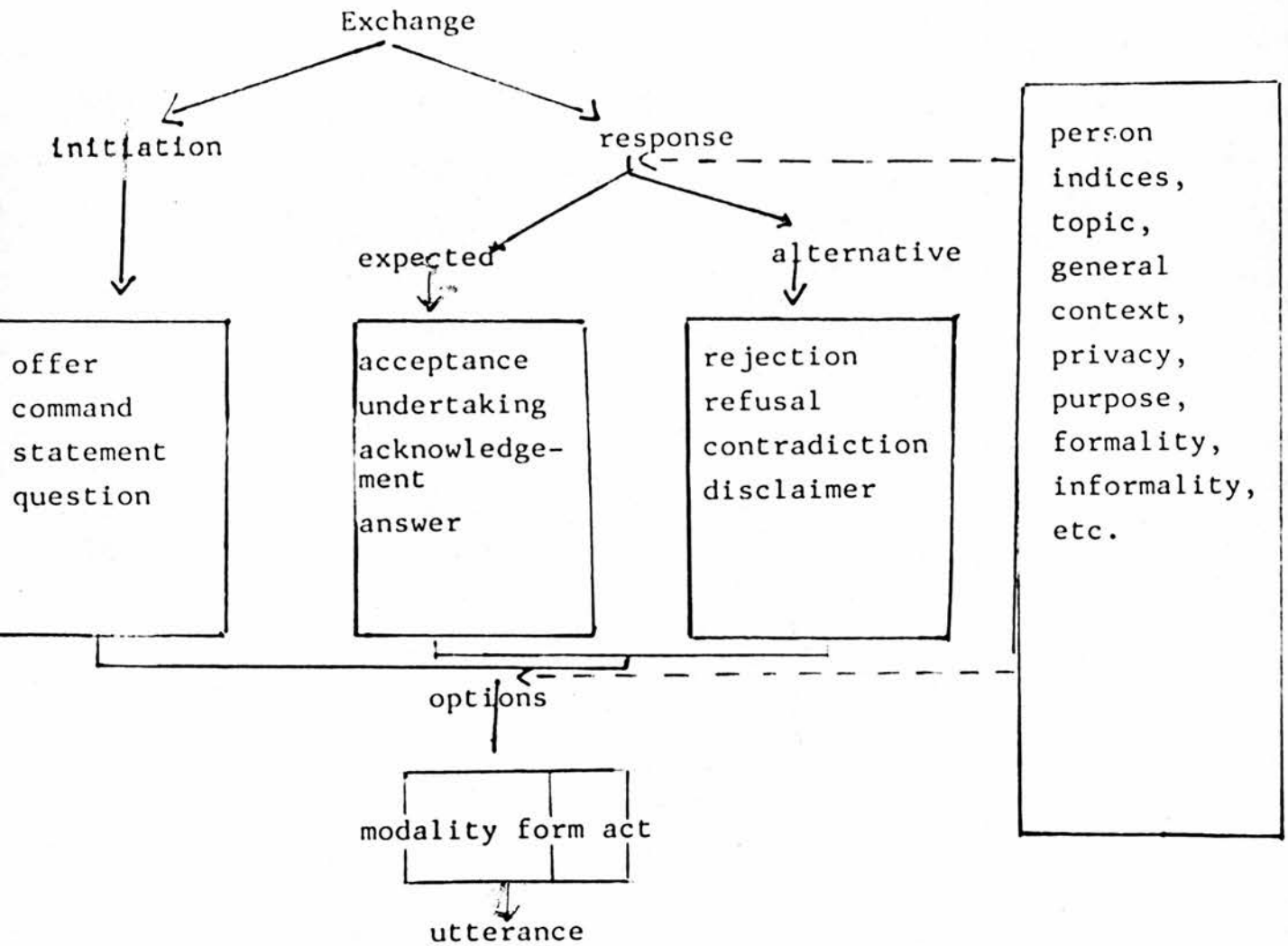
the statement he/she can contradict it and finally instead of answering the question, he/she can opt for a disclaimer.

As is generally known the same propositional content can be expressed in different forms of utterance. Leech (1983: 108) gives the following set of sentences with the same propositional content but varying in terms of directness and politeness:



Choice of the appropriate form for all the three ie the initiation, the expected response and the discretionary alternatives are influenced by the person indices of both speaker and addressee together with other factors such as topic, general context, formality-informality, privacy and purpose (cf Giles and Powesland (1975)). On the following page is a model of choices made in an exchange.

Figure 5. Exchange and Discourse Role.



From the diagram on the previous page it will be observed that person indices and other factors influence choice at two stages. The first stage is at the point where there is a need to choose either the expected or an alternative reply. In certain circumstances as when the power distance is great between the speaker and the addressee, the former has no choice but to opt for the first type. The second stage occurs at the point where choices need to be made with regard to modality, form and speech act to be performed. As we observe from the examples from Leech (1983) there is a wide variety of choices available to the speaker but care is needed to make the appropriate choice. In certain situations there may be another point where choices need to be made. This is at the very beginning of the exchange and the choice here is whether to take the role of both initiator and respondent or merely the role of respondent. As in the case of choosing between expected and alternative replies, the main factor may be the power distance between the two participants.

From the point of view of interpersonal meaning, since the choices at various levels are influenced by person indices to a certain extent, we can gain some idea from the options a speaker has taken how he/she sees himself/herself in relation to the addressee in terms of the three scales proposed in this section ie proximity, power and polarity. Hence we can also plot out the relative standing of the participants in each others eyes from the on-going linguistic transaction.

CHAPTER 4.

THE INTERPERSONAL DIMENSION OF NARRATIVE FICTION.

4.0 OUTLINE.

The goal of this chapter is to investigate the basic interpersonal structure of literary texts with specific reference to narrative fiction. In carrying out the study, four facets of the structure will be examined. These are: (1) the narrator-implied reader relationship, (2) the narrator-character relationship, (3) character-character relationship and (4) the actual reader/implied reader-character relationship.

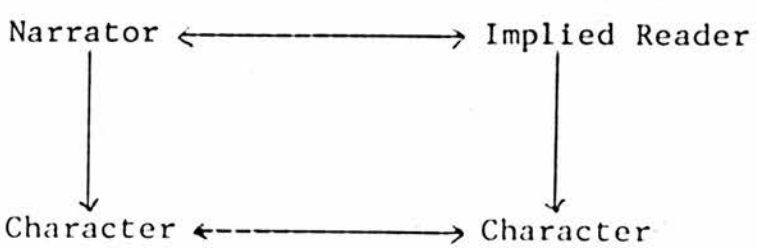
4.1 Introduction.

In chapter 2, a literary text was described as consisting of a series of discourses with one embedded in another. Each level of discourse, it was mentioned, has its own addresser and addressee. However, a study of the interpersonal structure of narrative fiction cannot be carried out along those lines. It is obvious that the study of this dimension of the text can be undertaken only when the relationship is perceptible. In a literary text it is discernible at only two of the four discourse levels namely the narrator-interlocutor level and the character-character level. Leech and Short (1981: 262-4) maintain that in literary discourse, when there is no obvious reason to distinguish between an addresser/addressee of one level with that of an adjacent level, we can assume that the two levels are merged "by de-

fault". Since my interest is mainly in the basic interpersonal structure of a literary text, I shall make the assumption that there is a merger of the addressee of the second level, the implied reader, and the addressee of the third level, the interlocutor, and henceforth refer to the merged addressee of the narrator simply as the implied reader. This is also in accordance with the structure of the majority of literary texts where there is no distinction made between the two levels.

A second point to note is the fact that while discourse relationships are horizontal in nature, interpersonal relationships on the other hand can be perceived on both the horizontal as well as vertical dimensions. Thus basically in a simple text containing only two levels of discourse interpersonal relationships can be perceived not only in the narrator-implied reader level and the character-character level but also vertically between narrator-and character on the one hand and implied reader and character on the other as in the following diagram:

Figure 6 Interpersonal Relationships in a Literary Text.



Reasons for this claim will be given in the relevant sections. While character-character interpersonal relationship can be bi-directional, in the case of the narrator-character relationship, if the narrator is also a character in the story

world or an autodiegetic narrator in Genette's (1980) term, it can be bi-directional. If however, the narrator is not a character in the story but a third person narrator or in Genette's (ibid) term a heterodiegetic narrator, then it can only be uni-directional ie. from narrator to character. The narrator - implied reader and implied reader - character relationships are more complex.

The implied reader is a mere construct or to use Leech and Short's (1981: 259) words "a hypothetical personage". He "shares with the author not just background knowledge but also a set of presuppositions, sympathies and standards of what is pleasant and unpleasant, good and bad, right and wrong" (Leech and Short (ibid)). The narrator directs his utterance to this "hypothetical personage" and by doing so establishes the role for himself and for the implied reader and the type of speech act and discourse style he/she employs is selected within the framework of the relationship. The narrator's dialogue is one-sided for the implied reader cannot talk back. How then do we perceive the implied reader's attitudes, feeling, etc? In my view the only way it can be done is by identifying the role the implied author and narrator cast for the implied reader and gauging from it the kind of attitudes and feelings such a person is likely to hold. Thus any aspect of the implied reader has to be considered in relation to the narrator and implied author. In the same way the implied reader's relationship with the character can be seen to develop along the lines structured

by the narrator and his/her relationship with each character is guided by the narrator. The relationship between implied reader and character is uni-directional ie from implied reader to character, for obvious reasons.

4.2 The Narrator and his Implied Reader.

In a novel or short story, the narrator informs the implied reader about a particular created world. The object of the narration is to convince his reader of what he/she is presenting. To accomplish his aim the narrator needs to "achieve a rapport with his readers, an identity of viewpoint whereby the contents of the fiction will be interpreted and evaluated in an appropriate way" (Leech and Short (1981: 257)).

Any discourse entails the setting up of interactional roles and in literary discourse the narrator by means of (amongst other linguistic features,) the speech acts and the discourse style he employs sets up roles for himself/herself and the implied reader appropriate to his/her strategy of bringing the implied reader under his/her influence. The type of roles the narrator constructs for himself/herself and the implied reader will vary according to the needs of the fictional world that is being presented. In his discussion of transformations of presentational control in narration, Ruthrof (1981: 137-8) sets up a list of twenty roles for the narrator and a corresponding twenty roles for the implied reader. The classification serves as a good basis for discussion and is reproduced below with the additions, of an analysis column.

Table 4. An Analysis of Narrator - Implied Reader Relations based on Ruthrof's (1981) Classification.

Type	Narrator	Presented world	Implied reader	Analysis				
				Change / Influence		Expressive / Emotion		Neutral
				Power		Power		
				N	R	N	R	
myth	authority	dictate	minor	✓				
parable	preacher	analogue and teaching aid	believer limited intellectual faculties	✓				
'Marchen'	artist	naive moral and presence of marvelous	naive audience	✓				
saint's legend	ecclesiastical historian	theology: process of canonization	member of medieval church	✓				
prophecy	prophet	divine vision and future truth	rebellious believer	✓				
allegorical	ideological visionary	fusion of concrete image and abstraction	naive disciple	✓				
narrative of ideas	ideologist	ideology	disciple	✓				
omniscient narration	clairvoant	unrestricted world especially mental processes	initiate	✓				
confession	confessor	private affairs	confidant				✓	
objective narration	observer	evidence	witness					✓
riddle	encoder	enigma	decoder					✓

Type	Narrator	Presented world	Implied reader	Analysis				
				Change influence		Expressive emotion		Neutral
				Power		Power		
				N	R	N	R	
unreliable narration	liar	false world	rebel		✓			
	insensitive speaker	misinterpreted world	moderator		✓			
joke	jester	incompatible realms of thought	bisociator, momentary			✓	✓	
satire	satirist	distorted world	bisociator, extended, and moral judge			✓	✓	
metafiction	player	game	playmate			✓	✓	
innocent narration	minor	world as discovery	adult				✓	
handicapped narration	retarded person	unmanageable task	nurse				✓	
narration as cry	persecuted person	threat	rescuer and psychiatrist				✓	
dehumanised narration	dehumanised victim	inhumanity as norm	moral judge				✓	

N = Narrator; R = Implied Reader

The analysis column on the right hand side of the list contains an analysis of the narrator and implied reader roles making use of two of Bennis et al's (1968) classification of interpersonal relationships presented in chapter 3 and a type which I termed "neutral" because according to Ruthrof's (1981) description they do not appear to be biased towards any interpersonal type. It will be noted the roles fall roughly into three classes. The majority of these come under the first type change/influence. This is not surprising since the majority of the narration types, such as parable and narration of ideas, are all connected with the transfer of knowledge or information. When 'true' knowledge or information ('true' according to the norms of the fictional world) is transmitted then the narrator as the source of information is in the dominant position and the implied reader as the recipient is in the subordinate position. When 'false' or 'distorted' knowledge or information is given in unreliable narration, the implied reader as 'guardian' of the norms is the superordinate and the narrator as 'liar' or 'insensitive being' takes the opposite role. It will be noted that narrators who come under the expressive-emotional type of relationship, are usually some sort of victim and so they stand in a position of weakness appealing for support and understanding from the implied reader, who is cast as the stronger of the two.

With regard to those relationships categorized as neutral it is difficult to predict the outcome or the intention of such types of narration. The interactants appear to come together

for some instrumental purpose rather than to establish a personal relationship. However, the neutral stand that a narrator takes may sometimes be a disguise as in a narration where the narrator under the guise of presenting neutral observation turns out to be a 'missionary' out to make a 'convert' of the implied reader.

Using the list proposed by Ruthrof (1981) we find that Memento Mori fits into at least four categories with an equal number of roles for both the implied reader and the narrator as the table will show:

Table 5.

Narrator - Implied Reader Relationship in Memento Mori.

Type	Narrator	Presented World	Implied reader	Analysis				
				Charge/ Influence		Expressive emotional		Neutral
				Power		Power		
				N	R	N	R	
Parable	preacher	analogue and teaching aid	believer limited intellectual faculties	✓				
omniscient narration	clairvoyant	unrestricted world, especially mental processes	initiate	✓				
objective narration	observer	evidence	witness					✓
riddle	encoder	enigma	decoder					✓

It is interesting to see that in two of the narrator roles, the narrator apparently has more power than the implied reader and in the third as in the role of the encoder the narrator is obviously superior to the implied reader as encoder in terms of knowledge. The analysis explains to a certain extent why there is the appearance in the text that the narrator seems to assume the stance of a superior. Moreover, the role(s) the narrator assumes may be reinforced by some of the utterances of the narrator given below and those given elsewhere in this section. It will be noted that in most cases these utterances begin with the phrases 'in fact' or 'in reality' or contain in them and in the majority of the cases they serve as corrections to any wrong or mis-information a character may give and hence the narrator shows herself to be very much superior to the character in terms of knowledge. It also casts the narrator in the role of a champion of truth by exposing the lies and misrepresentations of the characters. Given below are some of these sentences:

> In fact Mrs Pettigrew was seventy-three ... (p.55)

> Mrs Pettigrew went upstairs to look round the bedrooms, to see if they were all right and tidy, and in reality to simmer down and look round. (p.81)

> 'I had a lovely head of hair till you cut it off', although in reality there had been very little hair to cut off. (p.113)

> Mrs Pettigrew though she had in fact one quiet afternoon, received the anonymous telephone call had chosen to forget it. She possessed a strong faculty for simply refusing to admit an unpleasant situation, and going quite blank where it was concerned. If for instance, you had asked her whether eighteen years before, she had undergone a face-lifting operation, she would have denied it, and believed the denial,... (p.154)

The list may appear to convey the impression that only one type of narration and one type of implied reader - narrator role relationship is possible in a text. However, this is not so as Ruthrof (1981:135) explains:

> "It is self evident that few narratives illustrate only one position or one scale and no other. While some stories certainly do, the vast majority of narrative partakes of a range of such typified allocations".

In any narrative the narrator seeks to reinforce his views. One tactic that is often employed is the use of direct appeals to the reader; it may be in the form of generic statements and other related devices. George Eliot serves as a good illustration of authors using such a technique and the effect it has is summed up by Leech and Short (1981) in their discussion of Daniel Deronda. The technique they say include the use of contrast and reversals, direct appeals

to the reader through generic statements and other references to a community of experience and judgments. The effect they say is "a complex weighing up of one attitude against another especially of sympathetic indentification against ironic distance. The authorial tone is subtle, complex and variable" (p.283). In Memento Mori one can detect the use of similar devices. Although they can not be strictly termed generic statements the observations and remarks of the narrator make the presence of the narrator felt and also give some idea of the 'personality' of the narrator. Some of these statements are:

> The ward sister called them the Baker's Dozen, not knowing that this is thirteen, but having only heard this phrase; and thus it is that a good many old sayings lose their force. (p.15)

> 'Lisa Brooke be dammed', said Dame Lettie, which would have been an alarming statement if intended seriously, for Lisa Brooke was not many moments dead... (p.20)

> Mrs Anthony knew instinctively that Mrs Pettigrew was a kindly woman. Her instinct was wrong. (p.53)

These semi-revelations of the narrator through her observations and remarks, few and far apart though they may be, alert the reader to her presence.

It has been mentioned in chapter 3 that attitudes of the addresser towards the addressee and towards the message

are encodable in an utterance. We can thus detect the narrator's attitude not only by the role he/she has cast for himself/herself and the implied reader but also by the measurement of distance existing between the two. According to Leech and Short (1981) distance may range from distant formal or public to intimate, colloquial and private. As an example we can take their comparison of the narrating voice in Tom Jones and Tristram Shandy. They claim that while in Tom Jones the narrator maintains the polite distance of an eighteenth century gentleman discoursing at ease with his public, in the latter work "the narrator can button-hole, joke with, and cajole the reader as one would address an intimate" (p.281).

The relationship set up in terms of distance and proximity can be said to be mutual and the addressee of the narrator is as much distanced from the addresser as the latter is to the former. The narrator thus builds up the type of relationship he/she wants to have with the implied reader and shapes the implied reader's attitudes towards himself/herself and towards the fictional world.

4.3 Narrator - Character Relationship.

In chapter 3, we saw that a speaker is able to encode in an utterance not only his/her attitude towards the addressee but also towards the context of the message itself. It follows that in a narration, it is possible to detect not only the narrator's attitudes towards his addressee, the implied reader or his/her interlocutor as the case may be, but also towards the content of the message of which communication about characters forms a part. In this connection Lanser (1981: 202) observes:

> It is virtually impossible for a narrator to tell a story without communicating, either explicitly or, as it is more common, implicitly through a variety of means, some degree of distance or affinity, detachment from or involvement with the various subjects (events, objects, places, and especially personae) which constitute the story world.

Hence from the narration we can determine to a great extent the narrator's attitudes towards various characters in the text. We shall now examine some of the explicit means of indicating a narrator's attitude towards a character.

We begin with naming conventions. As is discussed in depth in Chaper 8, in naming a person we can employ a variety of forms with or without a title: Joseph, Joseph Smith, Smith, Mr Joseph Smith, Mr Smith. He can be also addressed as Joey, Horsey, idiot, boy, son, darling or dad. Traugott and Pratt (1980) say that these naming conventions can be associated with (1) specific social relations like kinship,

marriage or courtship as in the case of the last three examples; (2) expressions of emotive attitude like the insulting epithet "idiot"; (3) relative status of interlocutors such as "Mr Smith" or "sir" used by his inferiors and "Smith" used by his peers and superiors and (4) degrees of intimacy as in the case of "Joe", "Joseph" and the nickname "Horsey". The names ranging from title plus surname to nickname may be used depending on how intimate the addresser is with his addressee. As Kress and Fowler (1979: 200) point out the form of name chosen "signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation".

In a literary text, at the character-character interaction level naming more or less follows the conventions outlined above, expressing the manifold gradient of superiority and inferiority, intimacy and distance in their relationship. The narrator too exploits the naming convention to signal his/her attitudes towards various characters.

We shall now investigate some of the ways in which a narrator makes use of the convention.

Firstly, a narrator may make use of a whole range of forms of a character's name for stylistic purposes rather than to express any attitudes or personal feelings towards the character concerned.

Secondly, he/she may use it according to the system he/she has

worked out. A simple example is provided by Uspensky (1973: 22). He says that when Ehrenburgh in his memoirs introduces a new character to the reader, he usually identifies him accordingly to his occuption or his position and gives his last name and initials. However, immediately after this introduction of the character to the reader, Ehrenburgh is said to shift to his own point of view of closer acquaintance with the character and he begins to call him by his first name and patronymic.

A more complex reason may exist for the choice of certain forms of a character's name by a narrator. For example he/she may use first name in referring to characters he likes or whose views coincides with his/hers and title plus surname to refer to characters he/she dislikes or wishes to disassociate himself from. He/she may purposely use a form that other characters do not use as an indication of the difference in attitude that he/she and the other characters have towards that character. In Memento Mori there is a striking case of the use of naming to indicate the narrator's attitude towards the character. Jean Taylor, former maid and companion, who is established by the narrator as one of the very few reliable characters in the novel is addressed variously by different characters. She is called Jean by her former lover Alec Warner, Taylor by the Colston family, and Granny Taylor by the inmates, staff and doctor of the Maud Long Ward. But most of the time she is referred by the narrator as Miss Taylor and sometimes as Jean Taylor but never by the forms other characters use. In this manner the narrator displays

a certain amount of deference to the old woman and her opinions which stresses her position as one of the few reliable characters in the novel.

A third way a narrator may make use of naming is to refer to a character adopting the usage of some character or characters and subtly show that he/she shares their views or to signal that he maintains a neutral attitude towards that character.

Apart from naming other devices exist that a narrator may make use of to indicate his/her stance with regards a certain character. The most explicit of these is the narrator's use of overt comments about the character which makes clear his/her attitudes towards the character concerned. For example the following are the very few comments that the narrator openly makes about the characters in Memento Mori.

> He was magnetized by the sight of the clever little man doubled over his sticks... (p.26)
>
> ...even the bossy young heavily-qualified women had sometimes failed to outstare the little pale pebble-eyes of the great unself-questioning matriarch, Mrs Sidebottome. (p.111)
>
> 'No, no, I'm better now,' said Mrs Pettigrew, gradually controlling her breadth, for she had the self-discipline of a nun where business was concerned. (p.158)

Although in isolation these sentences might not seem important seen in the context of the ideology of the text and the general attitude of the narrator towards these characters the remarks are significant. Not all narrating voices may choose to reveal their presence by making overt comments

and a more subtle means may be employed "by the use of language which, either, in its sense or its connotations express some element of value" (Leech and Short (1981: 272). An example of this is the use of non-restrictive modifiers and adjectives in the narrator's description of characters. In contrast to restrictive modifiers, non-restrictive modifiers and adjectives do not narrow or restrict the meaning of the noun they modify. Epstein (1979: 226) says that they display the following characteristics:

a) They are always "poetizers", even where this is inappropriate.
b) They are "emotional or even sentimental" in character, that is they strongly bear affect.
c) They are in some ways gratuitous for the sense, and may be discarded without serious injury.

Thus, non-restrictive modifiers and adjectives being "emotional and sentimental" in character, their use by a narrator reveals to us his personal feelings towards the character described however miniscule they may be in contributing to the meaning of the utterance.

We now move on to less implicit devices of marking attitude namely external and internal views of characters. The first type restricts our observations of characters to external manifestations such as actions, speech and demeanour, leaving the inner states of the character to be inferred from them. To introduce such descriptions, the narrator employs

special modal expressions such as "apparently", "evidently", "as if", "it seemed", etc., which Uspensky (1973) calls words of estrangement. On the other hand, the narrator may provide an internal view of the character, permitting us to discern his state of mind, reactions and motives. Uspensky (ibid) says, the narrator uses "special expressions which describe the internal consciousness in particular, verba sentiendi: "he thought", "he felt", "it to him", "he knew", "he recognized"... (p.85).

A study of the way a narrator makes use of the two types of views will provide us an idea of how he views the characters in the story. Uspensky (1973) sums up very well the correlation between the presentation or suppression of a character's state of mind and the narrator's attitude toward him.

> Indeed, one may suppose that the description of the character from the outside or from the inside is conditioned by the author's attitude towards him: the author may take the point of view of a character whose outlook he feels he can accept: the psychological state of another may be alien, even incomprehensible to him: perhaps he cannot identify with him even for a time. Consequently, the author presents the character exclusively from the external view without ever describing his state of mind. The author in this case may be compared to actors who cannot assume all roles, but only those with which they can associate their "I" .... Thus in this case, the differentiation between characters described on the psychological plane internally, and not externally, corresponds to their division into sympathetic or unsympathetic characters, and as a result, the psychological and ideological points of view concerned. (p.105).

Fowler (1977) too notes that "... externalty leads to alienation, the creation of an inhuman gap between the observer and

the character: the character is incomprehensible, unreachable, scarcely a member of the human race" (p.94). However, we must not presume that there is always a correspondence between the presentation of an internal view of a character and the narrator's sympathy or an external view of a character and the narrator's antipathy to him. As Uspensky warns:

> The concurr nce of the ideological point of view and the psychological point of view is by no means obligatory, however, for in many cases the differentiation of the characters as sympathetic and unsympathetic, and their description from within or from an external point of view, do not correspond but intersect and the author may describe the inner states of both the sympathetic and unsympathetic characters. (1973, p.105).

We now turn a brief discussion of the relationship between a narrator's attitude towards a character and resemblance or deviance of the character's language from that of the narrator.

We often find in a literary text, the speech of a character or some characters marked off from the rest of the characters or the language of the narrator by the use of a dialect, sociolect or idiolect. Although its use may be mainly to distinguish the character concerned from other characters or to give a sense of authenticity or regional flavour, it may be exploited in a literary text as a vehicle of the narrator's attitude. The very fact that a character's language is differentiated from that of the narrator or other characters tends to characterize him as being distant from the other characters and from the narrator himself. As Leech and Short (1981) points out "non-standard language often implies

remoteness from the author's own language, and hence from the central standard of judgement" (p.170). They are, Leech and Short (1981: 170) note characters who are associated with objects of comedy and satire and therefore disassociated by the narrator. On the other hand, there are occasions when the language of the characters whose actions or views meet the approval of the narrator, resembles very closely the language of the narrator. An example of this is the language of Elizabeth Bennet in Pride and Prejudice. Among the characters in the novel, her views can be said to be the closest to the narrator's and this closeness of Elizabeth and the narrator's outlook is set off by the resemblance in their style of expression.

4.4 Character-Character Relationship.

Whether we regard characters in a literary text as "patterns of recurrence" (Weinsheimer (1979: 195) or as imitation of people, it must be accepted that characters are usually presented not as isolated, independent figures but as interacting with other characters in one way or another. These relationships are undoubtedly modelled on the way people in the world outside interact. Even if an author should choose to present the relationships as being marked or deviant from the way real people interact, the actual reader, the ultimate interpreter of the text, determines these relationships using as a base his/her knowledge of the way people interact with each other and the different modes of conveying interpersonal meaning.

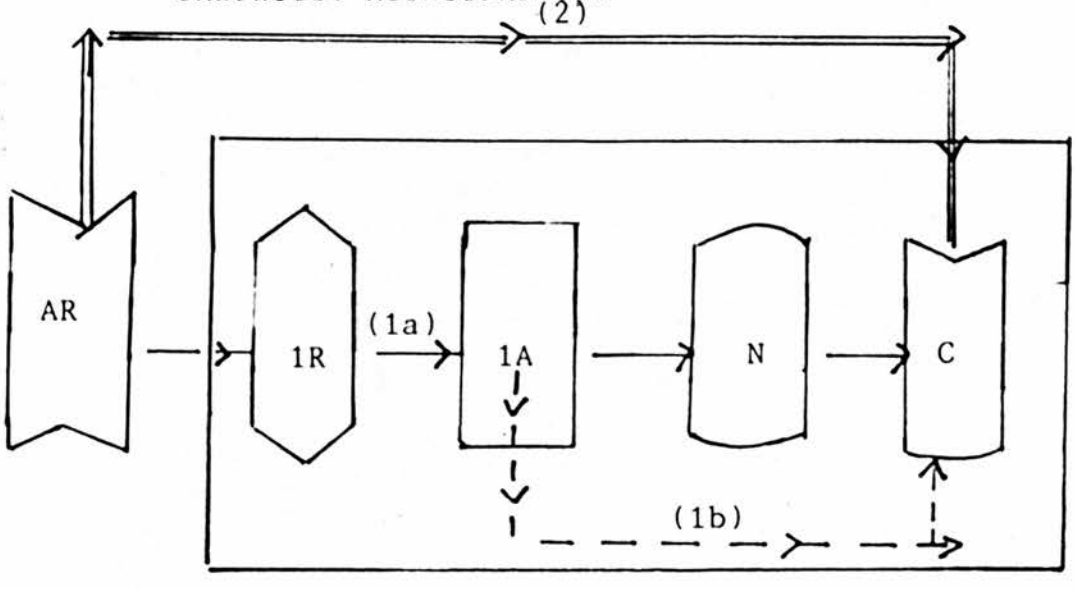
Since character to character interaction is the most directly mimetic level of fictional discourse, during the course of the narrative, characters may cultivate new relationships or may seek to alter old ones. As relationships are developed, altered and maintained, characters bring into play a wide variety of interactional strategies to achieve their goals, ranging from getting some action performed to simply maintaining the relationship. Based on their perception of their own role and status as well as that of the other participant and how they stand in relation to each other, they make choices from the various linguistic options with regards to such aspects as when to take speaking turns, how long they should speak, to choices in topic, discourse style and types of speech act. In a character-character interaction as in real life, the way a character thinks and feels about the other, how he/

she perceives the other's action, how he/she reacts to it, what he/she wants the other to think he/she thinks/feels can only be transmitted through his/her speech, demeanour and actions. The other participant also ascertains them through such factors. Thus a character deduces all the interpersonal meaning that the other may wish to convey or conveys from external signals only as he/she cannot know what transpires in the mind of the other character. If the narrator is of the type that can reveal the thought acts of characters, the reader may be much better informed.

4.5 The Actual Reader/Implied Reader - Character Relationship.

Presented below is a simple flow chart of how I see the way the actual reader and the implied reader formulate their attitudes, beliefs and feelings towards the characters in the text.

Figure 7. Actual Reader, Implied Reader and Character Relationship.



(AR = Actual Reader; IR = Implied Reader; 1A = Implied Author; N = Narrator; C = Character).

Before explaining the flow chart, it will be useful to define the terms reliable narrator and unreliable narrator. Booth's (1961: 156-9) definitions are as follows:

> I have called a narrator reliable when he speaks for or acts in accordance with the norm of the work (which is to say, the implied author's norms), unreliable when he does not, (Italics are Booth's).

The implied reader is a construct consisting of those characteristics which are required for the optimal interpretation

of the text. The implied reader may be said to view the characters in the text making use of the norms of the implied author and that of the narrator if he is found to be reliable. If the narrator is discovered to be unreliable, then the characters are viewed using only the norms of the implied author while the narrator's norms are used only as a basis for comparison. In short when the narrator is reliable, the attitudes, beliefs and feelings of the implied author, narrator and implied reader towards the characters coincide; in an unreliable narration only the implied author's and the implied reader's views coincide.

The actual reader, in contrast to the implied reader, has "free will" not being a mere construct of the text like the latter. The actual reader has however, to construct the implied reader in order to establish narrative meaning. In doing so, he may view the characters following the path taken by the implied reader ie route 1a and 1b as outlined previously. However, the actual reader comes to the text armed with his/her experience, beliefs, prejudices, likes and dislikes and he/she may bypass the route taken by the implied reader and link up with the characters directly ie following route 2, and place them on his/her personal scale of judgement forming his/her own beliefs, attitudes and reactions towards the characters not all of which may coincide with those of the implied reader. However, in the typical reading situation, the actual reader, if only to establish narrative meaning, makes use of both paths in formulating his/her views, feelings and judgements regarding the characters. These views, feelings and judgements it should be noted are verbalized

when a reader is asked to comment on the characters.

CHAPTER 5

POWER AND CONTROL AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS.

5.0 OUTLINE

The aim of this chapter is to examine how power and control affects interpersonal relationships and the way participants interact in power-sensitive encounters. In this chapter we first attempt to establish a basic definition of the term power in relation to interpersonal relations. We then investigate the basic factors involved in determining the power positions of participants in power-sensitive encounters. These factors pertain to (1) the power agent, (2) the power resources, (3) the power recipient, and (4) power struggle. In the final part of the chapter we examine how power or lack of it can affect the way a person interact by examining some of the researches in power-sensitive encounters such as interviews, courtroom interaction, and doctor-patient interaction.

5.1 Introduction.

The concept of power is an extremely complex one and its exploitation in society still more complex since it permeates every part of our social life as individuals in a complex network of relationships and hierachies, despite the fact that it may not be manifested in every interaction we are involved in. Since it is an issue of long standing interest in many fields there has been a vast amount of research carried out in connection with it. It needs therefore to be made clear that my interest here is only in the way power affects interpersonal

relationships particularly the way it affects the type of language used in power-sensitive encounters. By power-sensitive encounters is meant an encounter where there is a difference in power between participants and it influences the way they interact or where the power status of the participants is an issue under focus.

As my only interest in the area of power is to gain a working definition of power and a simple framework for the analysis of the interpersonal relationships between characters in Memento Mori my study of power as a concept is extremely basic and limited. However, basic and simplistic the framework appears to be it is hoped that the analysis of character interpersonal relationships will show the usefulness of the employment of insights and concepts drawn from separate but interrelated fields to literary studies in order to provide a better understanding and more complete interpretation of a literary work.

5.2 Defining Power.

As a starting point for our discussion we shall take one of the many contending definitions of power. According to Robinson (1972: 162-7) power is "the differential right to control another person's behaviour independently of the latter's wishes". Power is not an inherent part of any individual but as Emerson (1975: 313) asserts "a property of the social relation". Power is thus brought into existence by an individual's social relationship with other individuals. Emerson (op cit: 314) also maintains that "power resides implicity in the other's dependency". Jacobson (1972: 3) explains dependency as follows:

> ... if we want or need certain things, material or immaterial that another person possesses, we are dependent upon that person in proportion to the strength of our desires for these things. Further, our dependence upon another is simultaneously related to whether we can get those same things from sources other than the person on whom we are originally dependent.

Therefore the strength of a person's power over another can be seen as being related to how strong the needs of the other person is for what he/she possesses. In determining the power positions of participants in a relationship, it is useful to keep the following four factors in mind. These are: (1) power agent. (2) power recipient, (3) power resources and (4) power method.

5.3 The Power Agent.

The term power agent as used by Jacobson (1972) refers to the person exerting power over another. He maintains that power may be exercised for the following reasons: (1) to help himself/herself, (2) to help others, or (3) simply to enjoy using the power he/she possesses (p.22).

The power position of an individual is not static. It varies in different contexts with different people. Success or failure of an attempt to exercise power by an agent thus depends to a large extent on playing the right power card. He/she must have a knowledge of the bases of power available to him/her, a knowledge of how to use them and also have the ability to predict their possible effects (Jacobson (1972: 19)). We next look at the power resources, the bases of power which a power agent exploits to exercise power.

5.4 Power Resources.

McCall and Simmons (1966: 157) claim that money, status, authority, knowledge, equipment, sex, strength, and skill are potential power resources. Jacobson (1972: 21) gives a similar list. The contents of this list are: (1) personal characteristics that are important in a particular social relationship, (2) control of wealth, (3) access to information that the other may want, (4) physical strength, (5) ability to call upon force from other sources, (6) general abilities such as to speak well or to organize people and materials effectively and (7) ability to provide praise, recognition, or affection or to punish and minimize opportunities for others. It is obvious that few individuals will possess all the resources listed above at the same time but it is to be expected that the more power resources a person possesses, the stronger is his power base and the more individuals he will be able to exercise power over.

5.5 Power Methods.

Gilman (1962) (quoted by Jacobson (1972)) suggests four ways in which the power resources may be utilized by a power agent to influence the responses of power recipients. These are:

1) Coercion which is "the substitution of judgement with the knowledge but not the willing consent of the subordinates" (Gilman (op cit: 107)).

2) Manipulation which "is accomplished by a controlled distortion of the appearance of reality as seen by those affected" (Gilman (ibid)).

3) Authority which is "exerted by the agent's appeal either explicit or implicit, to the consensus which gave hum the right to influence" (Jacobson (1972: 41)).

4) Persuasion which includes the "display of judgement in such a way that those exposed to it have an opportunity to become aware of the potential value of accepting it in place of their own" (Gilman (ibid)).

Sites (1973: 147-172) in his clarification of control strategies and tactics distinguishes two types of coercion viz violent and non-violent and he further divides the latter into verbal and non-verbal types. Threat, argument, verbal disruption and ridicule are all types of verbal tactic. Sites (op cit: 159) sees manipulation as an attempt to conceal the

true reason for the communication or behaviour in order that the person concerned is made to believe that the manipulator is acting in good faith. He categorizes manipulative strategies into two types - verbal and non-verbal. Belonging to the verbal type are such tactics as gossip, rumour, propaganda, humour, labelling and appeals for sympathy.

From the point of view of the recipient these strategies may be viewed as (1) helpful, (2) subtle or (3) disturbing (Jacobson (1972)). The exercise of power involves the concepts of cost and benefit. "When considering the outcome of an influence attempt, A... weighs possible rewards against the cost of using his power. Each will attempt to maximize outcomes which will be most rewarding for himself at the least cost" (Jacobson (op cit: 32). However, the power agent needs to see to it that it is not too costly to the power recipient so that he/she does not feel that opting out of the relationship is less costly to him/her than continuing with the relationship. Hence strategies that are seen as disturbing by the recipient tend to be avoided by the agent and are usually employed only as a last resort.

5.6 Power Recipient.

The power agent usually makes use of his resources to fulfil his/her needs. The power recipient may accede to the power attempts by the agent in order to satisfy his/her needs. As noted earlier a power recipient is dependent on the power agent in proportion to the strength of his/her desire for things, both material and non-material, that the agent possesses. Furthermore, the strength of a person's dependence on another is also related to the availability of other sources that can fulfil his/her needs (Emerson (1973)). We must also note that roles in a power relationship are not static. Each new factor in the relationship may cause a change in the power structure. Take for example a speech event like a conversation. As the participants shift from one topic or another, participants assume diferent roles depending on the information resources they possess with regards to the topic discussion and how much contribution they can make. Another good illustration is Ervin-Tripp's (1968) report of the discovery of Soskin and John (1963) in their analysis of tapes of a couple on vacation. It showed significant variations with change in setting. They discovered that explicity directive utterances were most frequently used by the wife in the cabin and by the husband when out rowing.

5.7 Power Struggle.

Not all power attempts by a power agent meet with success. For various reasons a power recipient may offer resistance to the attempts of power (cf Jacobson (1972) for a review of the various studies on this aspect) agents to exert control. The struggle that takes place may be between two individuals with equal power resources or between a subordinate and a superordinate in an asymmetrical relationship when the former attempts to over-power or resist the power attempts of the latter. In the former case unless one of the participants can gain more resources, the struggle continues or results in quarrels and disagreements and if the relationship is to continue some form of compromise will have to be arrived at such as toleration. In the latter case, unless the subordinate can minimize his/her dependence on the superordinate or mobilize resources that can compete with the superordinates, the attempt is likely to fail and the subordinate will be under even greater control of the superordinate or the relationship will have to come to an end with the withdrawal of the subordinate from the relationship. Jacobson (1972) points out that withdrawal is the most drastic step a subordinate can take and this strategy is employed only when continued involvement is not paying off in terms of anticipated or promised rewards or when the safety of the individual is threatened.

5.8 Language and Interpersonal Power.

The interrelationship between language and power has been the subject of many studies especially in relation to specific institutional contexts. For instance Kress and Fowler (1979) studied interviews; Conley et al (1979) and O'Barr (1982) studied courtroom interaction; Treichler et al (1984) studied medical encounters and Ervin-Tripp et al (1984) studied language and power within the context of the family. In general these studies have revealed the existence of a relationship between the language employed and the power status of the participants in the interaction.

Facts emerging from the analysis of two interviews by Kress and Fowler (1979) clearly indicate that language use mirrors inequality in power. Below is their observation of the characteristics of the language of the interviewer and interviewee:

> The basic fact that the interviewer has power qua interviewer. He is in control of the mechanics of the interview: he starts it, he has the right to ask questions, and he has the privilege of terminating it. Through his choice of questions he selects the topics which may be introduced and, as we shall see, he even has the prerogative to ask questions so designed structurally that no new information can be introduced. The interviewee only has the right to ask questions in the very rare, and often merely token, situation of being given explicit permission to do so. The interviewer may, even then, refuse to answer a question, may without penalty plead lack of expertise or irrelevance; yet failing to answer the question, or deviating from the drift of the question, is the most damning sin the interviewee can commit. In the hands of an experienced practitioner the devices for control granted to the interviewer by the format and situation of the interview itself constitute a formidable armoury.
>
> (pp.63-64)

In their analysis of the interviews they found the use of first name by the interviewer in the first interview to address the interviewee to be significant seen in the context of the latter not addressing the former by any name. Another interesting feature is the use of hedges, ie "softerners" or "modalities" such as 'just' and 'probably' to mitigatate an answer the interviewee gave which could be seen as a challenge to the interviewer. Most of the questions employed by the interviewer are of the Yes/No type which Kress and Fowler (1979: 68) say "cannot be used to extend the scope of a conversation, because the questioner, in using them, restricts the information which is introduced". The third interesting feature is that the interviewee has the habit of adopting words, phrases and clauses directly from the language of the interviewer which Kress and Fowler (op cit: 70) maintain is in keeping with the speech of inferiors: "inferiors do not normally substitute alternatives for words previously used by their superiors".

In the study of a medical encounter by Treichler et al (1984) questions also play a significant role. They found that on most occasions the doctor adopted the role of initiator and the patient the respondent. In this connection quoting Frankel (forthcoming) and West (1983) they say that physicians routinely (99% and 91% respectively) ask questions and patients provide the response. They also discovered that when the patient provided unsolicited information the physician gave only token responses such as 'Hum', 'Himh' and 'I see'. They point out that the lack of responses is a general

characteristic of physician-patient discourse which is often attributed to the wish by the physician to remain clinically detached or neutral during the data-gathering stage.

In their study of courtroom interaction, Conley et al (1979) discovered two styles of speech in witness testimonies which they termed as powerless and powerful speech styles. The first style is marked by such features as hedges, hesitation forms, polite forms, question intonation and frequent use of intensifiers. They discovered that witnesses of low social class, the uneducated and the poor, used this type of style. In contrast they discovered that witnesses of higher social status such as the well educated, white collar workers and expert witnesses displayed relatively few features associated with the powerless style of speech.

The above are just a few illustrations of how language reflects the inequalities in the power of the interlocutors. They will be supplemented by other examples in our discussions of power and conversation in chapter 7 and power, address term and speech acts in chapter 8.

CHAPTER 6

LOOKING BEYOND OLD AGE, DECREPITUDE AND DEATH IN MEMENTO MORI

6.0 OUTLINE.

Our intention in this chapter is twofold. Firstly, we present a selection of interpretations given by various critics with regards to the themes in Memento Mori. We then offer an al-ternative theme which to our knowledge no critic has deemed important enough in the text to merit more than a cursory glance. By providing extensive evidence from the text we hope to establish that the theme we have proposed is as important as the themes that have received more attention from the critics.

6.1 Introduction.

Muriel Spark describes the origins of Memento Mori as follows:

> I decided to write a book about old people. It happened that a number of old people I had known as a child in Edinburgh were dying from one cause or another, and on my visits to Edinburgh I sometimes accompanied my mother to see them in hospital. When I saw them I was impressed by the power and persistence of the human spirit. They were paralysed or crippled in body, yet were still exerting characteristic influence on those around them and in the world outside. I saw a tragic side of this situation and a comic side as well. I called this novel Memento Mori.
>
> (Muriel Spark (1963) quoted by Kemp (1974:38)).

Spark (1965) admits to the book being a turning point in her

career as a writer: "I was really lucky because my third novel, Memento Mori, made the breakthrough" (quoted by Whittaker (1982: 29-30)). Although not as well known or as popular as her fourth novel The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie, it has nevertheless received much praise. According to Richmond (1884: 45) it is "regarded by many critics as Muriel Spark's masterpiece, Memento Mori was indeed a great achievement". In a review of the book by Naipaul (1959) not long after it was published he concludes the review with the words "Muriel Spark has written a brilliant, startling and original book". Kemp (1974: 48) joins in the chorus of praise as follows:

> For all this though the book is finally exhilarating, no mere black record of humanity ground down by age, disintegrating into death. The fact that this material, so difficult to contemplate, has been brought under the control of intellect, worked into art - sifted, scrutinized, given pleasing order - represents achievement of some mental fortitude.

While a few critics may have ignored the book, among those who reviewed it there appears to be total agreement as to its merits and we quote one more critic as added proof. The Scottish writer and critic Massie (1979: 24) has this to say about the book: "Memento Mori, a complex, witty, macabre novel, where all Muriel Spark's gifts seem to come together; it remains for many her most wholly satisfying achievement". We shall see that there appears to be a general agreement about the themes of the book also.

6.2 Themes and Messages in Memento Mori.

In Memento Mori, the majority of the characters are over seventy years of age and the reader is presented with a vivid account of what Stubbs (1973: 10) calls "the trials and tribulations of old age". it is no wonder that in general critics have seen it as a study of old age. Richmond (1984: 45) sees the central concern of Memento Mori as ageing and death. Massie (1979: 25-26) finds three other themes apart from the central one of how to prepare oneself for death. These are:

> The place of loyalty in personal relation, which may be described as a discussion of relative value; the nature of perceived reality; and the power that sex exercise over the imagination, and the power sexual guilt can offer others.

Stubbs (1973: 7) comments that Spark's focus in the novel is as follows: "She is concerned here to note down the reactions of old people to the message, 'Remember you must die'; and to characterize the foibles and weaknesses which are the prerogative of age no less than of youth". Kemp (1974: 42-43) interprets the book as follows:

> Memento Mori is a novel much insistent on the need to come to terms with death, to live with it in mind, so learning true perspective and humility. But the work has other aspects too... In Memento Mori, as in all Mrs Spark's novels, metaphysical concerns coexist with shrewd and very funny social observation. Its didactic diagrams are generously filled out ... the book is full of monitory vignettes of the doomed ego still insistently clamouring even in the shadow of the grave:...

Whittaker (1982: 58) on the other hand focuses on the religious dimensions of the text:

> The point of the novel is that the inevitability of death should imbue everyday actions with significance: those with faith are reminded that they will be accountable to God for their earthly life; to those without faith, it gives, paradoxically, an even stronger motivation to live fully and well, since they alone are responsible for their own redemption of existence from absurdity. There is no doubt, however, that the argument of this novel is primarily for a religious appreciation of life. It is one of Mrs Spark's most certain affirmation of her faith, and within it references to religious beliefs are made either in a tone of heightened, lyrical prose, or in the lucid, utterly authoritative style that is usually reserved for indisputable fact.

We see that for the critics, old age, decrepitude, facing death and a religious outlook on these matters appear to be the central themes in Memento Mori. In the next section we shall examine another theme of the novel which some critics have given a mention to here and there but have not given the attention it deserves.

6.3. Power and Control as a Theme in Memento Mori.

It is obvious from the remarks that certain critics have made that they have noticed the presence of the elements of power and control in the text but they do not seem to have appreciated the full significance of these in the work. Kemp (1974: 43) talks of the "domination-urges guttering out in feebly brandished will-forms "and later (p.45) he mentions the presence of "quite a gamut of exploiters" in the book. Richmond (1984: 55) notes the "futility of excessive concern with control"in the text reiterated by the loss of Warner's research records in the fire and the way the wills finally work out. Stubbs (1973) only makes a passing mention of Mrs Pettigrew's role as a blackmailer and similarly Massie (1979: 27) makes the point that Mrs Pettigrew is "driven by a need for power". On the other hand Whittaker (1982: 97) notes the presence of manipulators in Muriel Spark's novels: "Besides revealing how a novelist construct a plot, Mrs Spark's fiction contains a host of other manipulators: blackmailers, lawyers, film-directors, teachers who may succumb to the temptation of imposing their plots in real life. Blackmailers recur". In the light of the remarks made by the above critics it is apparant that they are aware of the presence of the elements of power and control in the text. However, we hope to reveal in the next section that the phenomenon is not restricted to a few characters or a few relationships but pervades the whole interpersonal network at the character-character interaction level of the text. This new insight into the text can be said to have

been gained as a result of the angle from which the text is investigated ie the interpersonal network in the text, and the particular approach adopted in the study ie a sociolinguistic - sociopragmatic type of analysis. In the novel, characters from the Colstons of Vicarage Gardens and their friends to the inmates and doctor and staff of the Maud Long Ward are all participants in the power game. There is even a character, Lisa Brooke who attempts to stay in the game from beyond the grave by leaving a carefully plotted will. The narrator-implied author too succumbs to the need to assert power by occasionally proclaiming her superiority over the characters particularly in terms of knowledge.

6.4 Power and Interpersonal Relationship in Memento Mori.

In this section we hope to substantiate what has been said in the latter part of the previous section ie the assertion that the elements of power and control pervade the whole text with an analysis of the character relationships using the insights drawn from the previous chapter on power and interpersonal relations. From the analysis we discover that the elements of power and control are present in the majority of inter-character relationships with one or other of the power resources listed by Jacobson (1972) figuring as the power base. Given below is a table categorizing the relationships according to the power resource used. We have merged two of Jacobson's power resource categories namely personal characteristics that are important in a particular social relationship and the ability to speak well or to organize people and materials effectively since they both figure in a single relationship. Moreover we have added authority to the list of power resources as it functions as one of the power bases in a relationship and it is one of the resources listed by McCall and Simmons (1966) which was also discussed in Chapter Five.

Table 6. Power Agents and Power Recipients in Memento Mori

Power Resource		Power Agent	Power Recipient
Strength	Health	Godfrey Lettie Mrs Pettigrew	Charmian
Wealth	(a) Will	Lettie Lisa Brooke Granny Barnacle + Other Grannies	Eric Pettigrew Mrs Pettigrew, Guy Leet, her brother and sister Nurses and Doctor
	(b) Money	Godfrey	Mrs Pettigrew Olive Mannering
Access to information	(c) Blackmail	Mrs Pettigrew Lisa Brooke	Godfrey Charmian
	(d) Distortion	Godfrey	Charmian
Personal Characteristics/ Organisation Ability		Tempest Sidebottome	Funeral Party/ Hospital Committee
Affection		Eric Colston	Lettie, his mother
Ability to call upon force from others		Granny Duncan Granny Barnacle	Sister Burstead Nurses, Doctor
Authority		Doctor/Staff	Grannies

We now take a look at relationships given in the table in greater detail. Charmian Colston who is eighty-five is suffering from neurasthenia and as a result has lost all sense of chronology and logic. She thus becomes dependent on others even for her basic needs. Her husband Godfrey although older than she by two years is in a far better condition both mentally and physically. As Charmian's health declines her reliance on her husband increases. This dependency on Godfrey unavoidably puts Charmian under the power of Godfrey, a situation which he appears to relish since all through their married life he has been in her shadow and has been envious of her success and popularity as a novelist which is aggravated by the feeling that he is morally as well as socially inferior to her. As a way of paying back for all the years of suffering, he adopts a bullying manner and dominates her in various ways. As will be seen in Chapter 8, he even goes to the extent of telling her what her stand should be on an issue and making her agree with him. Mrs Pettigrew, the woman employed to look after Charmian, also takes advantage of Charmian's state of health and attempts to assert control over her, at times treating her as if she were a child. Godfrey's sister, Dame Lettie Colston treats Charmian in a similar manner which Charmian in her confused state accepts in silence. Lettie is the person who imposes Mrs Pettigrew on Charmian giving the reason that "Charmian needs to be bullied. What Charmian needs is a firm hand. She will simply go to pieces if you don't keep at her. Charmian needs a firm hand. It is the

only way" (p.25).

The will game is a striking feature in Memento Mori and it is used as a power base in many of the character relationships. Lettie dangles her will before her nephew Eric Colston in order to gain his attention. She writes to him from time to time giving hints about the changes that she is planning to make in her will:

> These minor adjustments, of course, have some bearing upon my will. It has always seemed to me a pity that your cousin Martin, though doing so well in South Africa, should not be remembered in some small way ... Your position is of course substantially unchanged, but I could wish you had made yourself available for consultation.
>
> (p.103)

When she died Lettie left twenty-two consecutive wills. Lisa Brook, Mrs Pettigrew's late employer too leaves a carefully plotted will at her death which involves her husband Matthew O'Brien, her bigamous husband Guy Leet, Mrs Pettigrew and her brother and sister causing them to battle for the inheritance.

The Grannies of Maud Long ward also use wills as a means of control despite the fact that in reality they are near destitutes. Granny Duncan threatens to cut the nurses out of her will for addressing her as Granny. Granny Barnacle, a former news vendor and several times inmate of Holloway Prison, puts her motto "Action speaks louder than works" into practice by getting a new will form every week and asking the nurses to spell words like "thousand" and "ermine". The Grannies get so carried away by the will game that they even threaten to cut each other out of their wills.

Money is the power resource that Godfrey employs to get what he wants from Mrs Pettigrew and Olive Mannering to satisfy his lust to see women's stocking tops and suspender tips.

Godfrey and Mrs Pettigrew's relationship commences as employer -employee. However within a few days a semi-parallel relationship of a client-prostitute type is forged when Godfrey begins to make visits to Mrs Pettigrew in her sitting room in the evening to satisfy his obsession to see women's stocking tops and suspender tips, paying her a pound a time. At this stage the balance of power is still in Godfrey's favour. However a reversal in power status occurs not long after when Mrs Pettigrew through devious means is able to secure Godfrey's private papers and discover his past life which includes his past infidelities with various women. She is able to exploit this information as a power resource when she discovers that Godfrey will do anything to conceal this fact from his wife so as not to lose his pride before her. Apart from extorting vast sums of money from him, she goes to the extent of forcing Godfrey to change his will in her favour.

Mrs Pettigrew attempts to do the same thing with Charmian but fails to discover any incriminating papers as Charmian destroyed "possibly embarassing documents" (p.135) a long time ago. However she had been a victim of blackmail at the hand of Lisa Brooke, Mrs Pettigrew's late mistress, who used the information concerning Charmian's affair with Guy Leet to extort money from her. Guy Leet was also forced to marry Lisa Brooke in order to protect Charmian's honour.

Godfrey is no innocent at manipulating people either. While keeping Charmian abreast with news of the latest developments, he also feeds her disinformation. One striking incident is when he tells her that the reporter whom Charmian said called on her recently in fact did so five years and two months ago (p.10-11).

In retrospect, taking into account such facts as Godfrey's ability to recall precisely when the reporter came - five years and two months ago, his expression of regret at the way he treats Charmian after the incident, the mention of other characters (cf Olive Mannering (p.97)) of the recent revival in interest in Charmian's novels, Godfrey's attempt to dissuade Charmian from moving into a nursing home by warning her that doing so at the age of eighty-seven might kill her, making her about a year older than she really is, perhaps intentionally, all leads us to question Godfrey's adherence to truth and whether he is not distorting the facts deliberately in order to make Charmian more confused and more amenable to his control.

The use of personal characteristics and organisational ability as a power resource is examplified by Tempest Sidebottome's relationship with the hospital committee:

> Her voice in committee had been strangely terrifying to many an eminent though small-boned specialist, even the bossy young heavily-qualified women had sometimes failed to outstare the little pale pebble eyes of the great unself-questioning

> matriach, Mrs Sidebottome, 'Terrible woman', everyone always agreed when she left. (pp.110-111)

Her organizational ability as a source of power can be seen by the way she is able to shepherd the people about at the funeral tea party for Lisa Brooke.

One of the most interesting use of power resources is the employment of ability to call upon force from others by the grannies. Granny Duncan threatens to write to her MP or report anyone who calls her Granny.

She uses the same tactic with Sister Burstead when she found the meat tough or off:

> 'This meat my good woman...'The ward felt at once that Granny Duncan was making a great mistake. 'My niece will be informed ... My solicitor...' (p.46)

The tactic of threatening to invoke the aid of relatives and hospital committees by the grannies seems to be a common one to Sister Burstead:

> 'You could evidently threaten the doctor, the matron, or your relations, and she would merely stand there glaring angrily with her twitch, she would say no more than, 'You people don't know you're born', and 'Fire ahead, tell your niece, my dear'. (p.46-47)

Granny Barnacle, as befitting a former news vendor, is more resourceful in her choice of force than others. When she learns that the unpopular Sister Burstead has neither been dismissed or transferred after her outburst at Granny Duncan, she declares her knowledge of her rights as a patient and not only threatens to discharge herself but also tell it all to the press:

> 'I know my bloody rights as a patient,'... 'Don't think I don't know the law. And what's more, I can get the phone number of the newspaper. I only got to ring up and they come along and want to know what's what'. (p.49)

Even Jean Taylor, the most inteligent and sensible of the group, resorts to invoking external help at one point though it must be admitted that it is not for her own benefit but in order that Granny Barnacle should not lose faith in her religion:

> 'I know a lady who knows another lady who is on the management committee of this hospital. It may take some time but I still see what I can do to get them to transfer Sister Burstead'. (p.50)

The relationship between the doctor/staff and grannies of Maud Long Ward examplifies the use of authority as a power resource. To keep the grannies in control the doctor and the staff invoke the authority derived from their role in the relationship. The context of the relationship and the type

of individuals involved in the role relation however restricts them in the type of control they may exercise. For example the use of force or even threat is out of the question in such a situation and only the type of control that will not adversely affect the co-operation, friendship and trust of the patients are employed by the doctor and staff.

6.5 Defining the Relationships.

Basically three types of character relationships are discoverable in Memento Mori: (1) asymmetrical relationships in which the balance of power is clearly in favour of one of the participants; (2) peer relationships in which both participants are equal in terms of power and (3) conflict relationship in which one of the participants either a peer or a subordinate attempts to change the balance of power in his/her favour. From what has been presented in the previous section, it may be noted that the power status of the participants may not be the same throughout their relationship and power may shift from one participant to the other depending on the power resources a participant possesses at a particular time. Sometimes the shift may be of very brief duration and sometimes it may be more enduring.

The Godfrey Colston - Mabel Pettigrew relationship starts off as an asymmetrical relationship with the balance of power in favour of Godfrey as the employer. However, as we noted in the previous section, the power status becomes inverted once Mrs Pettigrew starts blackmailing Godfrey. However, Mrs Pettigrew's victory is short lived. When Jean Taylor, Charmian's former maid and companion learns of Godfrey's plight she provides him with detailed information about Charmian's past infidelities through a common friend Alec Warner, Godfrey's feeling of guilt and his fear of loss of pride before his wife is removed once her is able to confront his wife with these facts and she in turn confronts him with his

past affairs. Since the information Mrs Pettigrew possesses now becomes obsolete, she is no longer able to use it as a power resource to control Godfrey. The old man thus regains his power status as an employer and is soon able to put it to effect by dismissing Mrs Pettigrew from service.

At the very beginning of the relationship with Charmian, Mrs Pettigrew behaves in the manner appropriate to a subordinate in an asymmetrical relationship but in no time she begins to assert control over Charmian. The latter succumbs to it in her moments of confusion but offers strong resistance when her mind is clearer. The asymmetrical relationship develops into a conflict relationship as a result of the power attempts made by Mrs Pettigrew. However, in the attempt to resist Mrs Pettigrew's domination, Charmian's health improves tremendously and she becomes extremely assertive in her relationship with Mrs Pettigrew. Meanwhile as Godfrey increasingly turns to his wife for advice in the face of Mrs Pettigrew's power attempts, the latter fearing that Charmian's presence could undermine her power over Godfrey, forces Charmian to withdraw from thesituation by threatening her with poisoning. Unable to counter this threat, Charmian chooses the only alternative possible in her circumstances and withdraws from the situation to the safety of a nursing home thus ending the conflict relationship.

At the beginning of the novel, Godfrey is the superordinate in his relationship with Charmian as was explained in the previous section due to her ill-health. However, as her

health gains a tremendous boost due to her effortful will to resist the domination of Mrs Pettigrew, Charmian becomes more assertive in her interactions with Godfrey. This coincides with Godfrey's loss of authority over Mrs Pettigrew and a general loss of assertiveness. Soon, Charmian is able to change the relationship from an asymmetrical one to that of peer and this is maintained until the end of the novel.

The relationship between Godfrey and Lettie as befitting one between siblings is a peer relationship. However on certain occasions it temporarily turns into an asymmetrical relationship as on pages 11-12 when Godfrey gains ascendency over Lettie for a while by virtue of being in control of the car and his ability to penalize Lettie by accelerating the car if she should disagree with him. However, this power ends as soon as they reach the Colston residence and once Lettie is out of the car she is as assertive as ever, and even becomes deliberately provocative. Most of the time the relationship is on the verge of turning into a conflict relationship with Lettie appearing to be the more assertive of the two. Despite the frequent bouts of argument, the relationship is maintained until Lettie's death.

The relationship between Mrs Pettigrew and Mrs Anthony starts off as a peer relationship in accordance with their roles as domestics under the same employer. However the relationship at times develops into a conflict type when Mrs Pettigrew attempts to impose her opinion on Mrs Anthony which is resisted strongly by the latter.

Charmian's relationship with Mrs Anthony may be said to be just the opposite of her relationship with Mrs Pettigrew. Mrs Anthony behaves in a manner that is in accordance with her role as subordinate in an asymmetrical relationship and makes no attempt to take advantage of Charmian's ill-health and assert control over her.

Of the characters in the Maud Long Ward, Jean Taylor merits special mention in connection with the way she behaves in her interaction with different characters. Since Godfrey refuses to pay his share of keeping her in a private nursing home she decides to enter a free hospital and is therefore under no obligation to anyone. Moreover being a devout Catholic her submission to the will of God appears to have given her a sense of freedom from the control of temporal authorities and she is therefore able to interact with anyone, be it the doctor, staff or the inmates of the ward, or her social superiors such as Lettie on equal terms. She acts as a pseudo-arbiter and advisor in the ward and even Lettie Colston visits her to seek her advice.

It it hoped that the linguistic analysis of various character interactions in the next two chapters will exemplify and substantiate what has been said of the various character relationships in this chapter.

CHAPTER 7

'Now, Mrs Colston, just a moment, while Mr Alec Warner tells us about democracy'. - Conversation Structure in Memento Mori.

7.0 OUTLINE.

The goal of this chapter is three fold. The first aim is to describe some of those areas that are considered to be important in the analysis of conversation. The areas chosen for study are:

(i) Turn-taking

(ii) Turn-control

(iii) Repair

(iv) Preferred Second Turns

(v) Discourse Topic

It is admitted that the five areas singled out for description do not cover the whole field of conversation analysis. These areas have been ear-marked for study on the basis of their relevance to analysis of conversation in power sensitive-encounters.

The second aim is to describe the way in which interpersonal power influences the structure of conversation.

The final aim is to make a study of selective character interactions in Memento Mori and discover in what way the power status of the characters concerned influence the way they interact using the findings in the previous two sections as a basis for the analysis.

7.1 Introduction.

The goal of conversation analysis is according to Levinson (1983: 287) "to discover the systematic properties of the sequential organization of talk and the ways in which utterances are designed to manage such sequences". The defining characteristics of conversation analysis are its rigorous observation and absence of premature formulation but as Thomas (1985b) points out it is limited by its lack of predictive and explanatory power. Hence in the analysis of selective character interactions in Memento Mori, it has been necessary to combine it with the insights gained from other related fields such as pragmatics, discourse analysis and communication theory.

Naturally occurring conversation is marked by features such as repetition, interruption, pauses, overlapping speech, phonological markings, etc. The conversation that occurs in literary texts can be said to be much tidier to deal with in this respect since not all these features may be present or representable due to the constraints imposed by the written medium. What information regarding features that mark conversation is provided is entirely up to the author who is guided by the effect he/she wishes to achieve. Owing to this reason the use of descriptive method devised for naturally occurring conversation in the analysis of character talk may not be as productive as it is in the case of the former. However, it must still be accepted that a vast deal can be revealed by applying a rigorous and systematic analysis based on a CA type study on character interaction in the study

of characterization and the interpersonal dimension in particular and it is hoped the description of selective character interaction in 7.4 will testify to it.

7.2 The Structure of Conversation.

The fact that conversation is as much a social and activity as it is a linguistic one makes it difficult for linguists to define it succinctly. However, when they do, most tend to emphasize those features that interest him/her. Hence four definitions are given below in order to show the different facets of conversation.

To Orestrōm (1983: 23) the interactional purpose of conversation and its informal and spontaneous nature seem to be the defining characteristics:

> ... conversation may be characterized as an informal speech event which is largely guided by the spontaneous wishes and interests of the participants and may occur for no other reason than to carry out social interaction.

Crystal and Davy (1969: 102-4) lay stress on the linguistic feature and the unpremediated aspects of conversation. The following is a summary of what they regard as the three defining characteristics of conversation:

1) the inexplicitness of the language arising from the interactants' dependence to a large measure for much of the information on the extra-linguistic context of the conversation.

2) randomness of subject matter and a general lack of planning and

3) existence of a greater percentage of 'errors' in comparison to other spoken varieties consisting

> of hesitation features, slips of the tongue and a high proportion of overlapping or simultaneous speech.

On the other hand, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974: 700-1) in their pioneering work on turn-taking in conversation, give importance to the turn-taking aspect in discussing the characteristics of conversation. Out of the fourteen points they provided, ten in one way or another deal with turns. Of these, the four outstanding ones are reproduced below:

1) Speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs.
2) Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
3) Turn allocation techniques are obviously used. The current speaker may select the following next speaker (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-select in starting to talk.
4) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations: e.g., if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble.

Levinson (1983: 284) seems to have captured most of the essential features of conversation mentioned in the preceding three definitions in his introductory statement:

> ... conversation may be taken to be that familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking, which

generally occurs outside specific institutional settings like religious, law courts, classroom and the like.

From the above mentioned descriptions of conversation we can arrive at five basic features that mark conversation:

1) setting: essentially informal.
2) participants: two or more gathered together for the purpose of social interaction.
3) language: a high percentage of performance errors consisting of hesitations, slips of the tongue and overlapping.
4) topic[2]: selection is random and unplanned with shifts from one topic to another.
5) turn-taking: techniques exist for the orderly transfer of speaking turns.

More facts will be added to the five points mentioned above in the sections that follow. In discussing the structure of conversation five areas have been singled out for more detailed concentration. It must be admitted that they do not cover every aspect of conversation but have been chosen partly for their usefulness in the study of conversation in general and partly due to their relevance in the study of the power structure in casual conversation which is the main aim of this chapter. The first area to be dealt with is turn-taking.

7.2.1 Turn-Taking in Conversation.

Turn-taking is not just an inherent feature of conversation

but also of what Sacks et al (1974: 696) call 'speech exchange systems' such as debates, courtroom interaction, classroom interaction, interviews, etc. However, what distinguishes conversation from the majority of other speech exchange systems is that while in the latter one interactant may function as an 'umpire' monitoring and regulating speaking turns and keeping watch on whether the rules are being adhered to, in the former, turn-taking rules are not enforced by any specific interactant but accepted and adhered to by all the participants as a co-operative venture, a system that Levinson (1983: 300) describes as 'locally managed': "It operates on a turn-by-turn-basis organising just the transition from current speaker to next ..." As Coulthard (1977: 52) notes, the roles of speaker and listener change with remarkably little overlapping speech and remarkably few silences. How then is turn-transfer achieved with so much efficiency?

According to Sacks et al (1974: 704) it is done in accordance with the following basic rules:

> 1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn constructional unit:
>
> a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.
>
> b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and

transfer occurs at that place.

c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a or 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

We see that there exist two ways in which transfer of turns may be effected namely using 'current speaker selects next' technique such as directing a question to a specific interactant, and if this is not utilized then 'first starter self-selection for next speakership' technique may be used. These turn-transfers it must be noted, do not occur randomly, but only at transition-relevance places (TRPs). Sacks et al (1974: 721) define these as " 'possible completion points' of sentences, clauses, phrases, and one-word constructions and multiples thereof". However, before attempting to take a turn, interactants must find out the intentions of the current turn holder. This is done by interpreting signals that the current speaker emits. Orestrōm (1983:31) notes that Duncan (1972 and 1973) claims that there are four basic types of signals for the operation of the turn-taking mechanism. The two which are related to the intentions of the current speaker are reproduced below:

a) turn-yielding signal; the speaker indicates that he intends to terminate his turn.

b) attempt-suppressing signal; the speaker indicates that he intends to hold the turn.

Furthermore, Orestrōm (1983: 31-32) says that Duncan (1972) discovered six cues displayed singly or in combination to signal that the speaker is ready to surrender his turn. These pertain to 1. Intonation; 2. Paralanguage (e.g. drawl on the first syllable or on the stressed syllable of a terminal clause); 3. Body motion (e.g., the termination of any hand gesticulation); 4. Sociocentric sequences (the deployment of a stereotyped expression such as but eh, or something, you know, etc); 5. Paralanguage (e.g., a drop in paralinguistic pitch); 6. Syntax (the completion of a grammatical clause, involving a subject-predicate combination). Since in a conversation, speaking turns are dealt with locally as the talk proceeds, it is important for the listener, especially when in a large group, to be alert for these cues if he/she wishes to get a speaking turn and if he/she is not to enter at the wrong point and thus seem to keep interrupting and appear to be rude. In this section we have seen how turn-taking is effected in conversation and in the next we will see how another speech exchange system namely classroom interaction differs from it in this respect.

7.2.2 Turn-Control.

Discourse rules regarding who speaks when, for how long, how often and who determines them (when such a role exists) are dependent on the type of speech exchange system. In this connection Orestrōm (1983: 21) points out: 'the underlying rules of participants will vary from relatively fixed and predetermined to being relatively open to the participants' personal options.' It appears, that the more formal the speech event with the presence of either a non-participatory group or a group with limited participatory rights and the need for a equitable share of speaking turns, the more likely there are to be formal rules regarding the rights and obligations of each participant and the predetermined sequence in the order of participation and a person with the role of distributing and controlling speaking turns and length of participation. Well known examples are debates, courtroom and parliamentary interactions with their respective chairmen, judges and speakers to keep the proceedings in order.

The situation is also similar in cases where there are large numbers of potential contributors and there is a need for orderly transfer of turns. The most obvious example of such a situation is the classroom. In the classroom, the teacher not only has the task of imparting knowledge to his/her pupils but also needs to find out whether they are performing adequately and whether his/her instructions are being followed. It is not surprising that the teacher has a disproportionate number of turns overall compared to that of the students as Allwright (1980: 170) discovers in his analysis

of a university-level ESL class interaction. He claims that the teacher does almost all the interruption and is even guilty of turn stealing - responding to a personal solicit made by one student to another student. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 37) too observe: "within the classroom the teacher has the right to speak whenever he wants to, and children contribute to the discourse when he allows them". A typical structure of a classroom interaction, they claim, is a teacher solicitation, followed by a pupil reply. They say that selection of who will reply can take three forms: the teacher may nominate the pupil; he/she may give the cue to bid, such as 'hands up', or the pupil may themselves bid to be nominated by raising their hands or shouting 'Miss, Miss' and the teacher selects from one of the bidders. They also note (p.52) that in any classroom, children rarely ask questions and when they wish to do so, they first have to draw the attention of the teacher and get permission to speak. They maintain that permission to ask a question may not be granted and the initial bid may be rebuffed with phrases like 'not now', or 'just a minute' and "the exchange never gets off the ground". On the other hand, they also discovered that children may volunteer information which they believe to be relevant or interesting and this is responded to by the teacher with an evaluation of its worth and a comment (p.52).

> Miss P. There's some - there's a letter missing from that up and down one.
> Oh yes. You're right. It is.

However, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 57-8) also found out

that when pupils are working separately, they have the most opportunity for initiating exchanges. On such occasions, they can give comments, ask questions about the task at hand, and request evaluation of the work done. Such exchanges may however, be brought to an end by the teacher with an elicitation asking for the pupil's answers or results and Sinclair and Coulthard (ibid) note that when the teacher elicits answers from the pupil, the latter has to contribute to the discourse with verbal response giving him/her little chance to initiate exchanges.

From Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) report some idea may be gained of the way turns are transferred and distributed in the classroom. It will be noted that the teacher not only monopolizes the speaking turns but more importantly exerts control over which pupil speaks when, for how long and how often. Pupils are compelled to wait for the teacher to allow them to take a turn or have to bid for permission to take the turn when it is made available by the teacher. We see that even when opportunity arises for the pupil to initiate an exchange as when they are working by themselves, the teacher may bring such an exchange to a close by taking on the role of initiator and relegating the pupil to the role of a respondent. In the next section we shall look at the repair mechanism which is not only an important aspect of classroom interaction but also of casual conversation.

7.2.3 Repair in Conversation.

The term repair as used by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) does not just refer to the substitution of an erroneous or problem item by what is correct. As Levinson (1983: 31) explains, it has far greater coverage than this: "The range of phenomena collected here under the concept of repair is wide, including word recovery problems, self-editings where no discernible 'error' occurred, corrections proper (i.e. error replacement) and much else besides". Repair in conversation acts as a useful apparatus to clear up any misunderstandings, mis-hearing, non-hearings or correct any errors that may occur. Four types of repair may be distinguished (Levinson (1983: 340)):

1. self-initiated repair - repair by a speaker without prompting by the other party.
2. other-initiated repair - repair by speaker after prompting by the other party.
3. self-repair - repair done by the speaker of the problem item.
4. other-repair - repair done by the other party.

Both self-repair and other-repair can be initiated by self or other. Thus we have self-repair initiated by self and self-repair initiated by other. Similarly we have other-repair initiated by self and other-repair initiated by other (cf Schegloff et al (1977)).

The way conversation is structured provides for the operation of the repair mechanism. According to Levinson (1983:

340) in a three-turn sequence, repair or its prompting can be carried out in the following order:

T_1 (includes reparable item) = first opportunity here for self-initiated self-repair.

Transition space between T_1 and T_2 = second opportunity: here again for self-initiated self-repair.

T_2 = third opportunity: either for other-repair or for other-initiation of self-repair in T_3

T_3 = fourth opportunity: given other-initiation in T_2, for other-initiated self-repair.

From the above it will be seen that some sort of system exists in the ordering of the choice of different types of repair. Levinson (1963: 341) following Schegloff et al (1977) suggests that this 'preference ranking' is in the following order:

Preference 1 is for self-initiated self-repair in opportunity 1 (own turn).

Preference 2 is for self-initiated self-repair in opportunity 2 (transition space).

Preference 3 is for other-initiation, by NTRI[1] in opportunity 3 (next turn), of self-repair (in the turn after that).

Preference 4 is for other-initiated other-repair in opportunity 3 (next turn).

The following are some of the examples of various types of repairs provided by Schegloff et al (1977: 364-5):

1. Self-initiated Self-repair

N: she was givin me a:ll the people that
-- were go:ne this yea:r I mean this
-- quarter y'// know

J: Yeah (NJ:4)

2. Other-initiated Self-repair

Ken: Is Al here today?

Dan: Yeah.

(2.0)

Roger -- He is? hh ee heh

Dan: -- Well he was. (GTS:5:3)

3. Self-initiated Other-repair

B: -- He had dis uh Mistuh W - whatever K - I
can't think of his first name. Watts on,
the one that wrote// that piece,

A: -- Dan Watts. (BC:Green:88)

4. Other-initiated Other-repair

B: Where didju play ba:sk//etbaw.

A: (The) gy:m.

B: In the gy:m?

A: Yea:h. Like grou(h)p therapy. Yuh know =

B: Oh:::.

A: Half the group that we had la:s' term wz
there en we jus' playing arou:nd.

B: -- Uh-fooling around.

A: Eh- yeah ... (TG:3)

Schegloff et al (362-363 notes) explain some of the notations used in the above examples as follows:

> 'a dash (-), used to indicate a cut-off of the preceeding word or sound; colons (:), used to indicate stretching of the preceeding sound; and numbers in parenthesis (0.8), used to indicate silence in sound. of a second. In some cases the transcripts have been simplified by the omission of some symbols. Arrows indicate the location of the phenomenon for which a segment is initially cited, (for a gl -ossary of symbols used, see Sacks et al (1974: 73)).

The following is a summary of the reasons that Levinson (1983: 341-2) provides for the way the preferences are ranked:

1) It corresponds closely to the ranking from the most frequently used to the least used (usage of other-repair for example being infrequent in conversation).

2) The system is set up so that there will be a tendency for self-initiated self-repair; this being the type of repair relevant in the first two opportunities traversed.

3) Existence of delay by recipient following these two opportunities if they are not immediately utilized, signals a 'problem' and invites self-initiated self-repair.

4) Even in cases where other parties can do the required repair, they produce an NTRI - other initiation of a self-repair instead of carrying out other-repair.

For the above reasons, Levinson (ibid) concludes that the repair mechanism is strongly in favour of both a preference

for self-initiation of repair and a preference for self-repair over repair by others. It must be pointed out that the term preference is here used not to refer to the motivations of the participants but is being used technically to refer to sequence-and-turn-organisational features of conversation (Schegloff et al (1977)). It will be noted that Levinson (1983) following Schegloff (ibid) opts for a structural explanation in accounting for the way preferences are ranked. However, there are other obvious non-structural reasons such as the observation of Politeness Principle (Leech (1983)) which may explain why interactants may be in favour of one type of repair over another and these will be discussed in the section on power and conversation. In the next section another type of preference sequence - adjacency pairs will be discussed.

7.2.4 Preferred Second Turns.

One basic feature of conversation organization is the occurance of paired utterances such as question-answer, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance, etc., where one interactant produces the first part and the interactant to whom the utterance is being directed produces the second part. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) call such types of pairing adjacency pairs and they say that one of the fundamental characteristics of these pairs is that they are "typed , in that a particular first requires a particular second (or range of second parts)". First parts may have more than one potential second part but as Levinson (1983: 332) notes "alternate second parts to first parts of adjacency pairs are not generally of equal

status; rather some second turns are preferred and other dispreferred." As in the case of repair, the kind of preference that Levinson has in mind does not refer to the psychological preference of the interactants but to the linguistic concept of markedness: where there is a potential range of choices, one is structurally more usual, more normal and less specific than the others (Comrie, 1976a: 111). According to Levinson (1983: 334-335) marked seconds exhibit a large number of the following features:

a) delays: (i) by pause before delivery, (ii) by the use of a preface (see (b)), (iii) by displacement over a number of turns via use of repair initiators or insertion sequences.

b) prefaces: (i) the use of markers or announcers of dispreferreds like Uh and Well, (ii) the production of token agreements before disagreements, (iii) the use of appreciations if relevant (for offers, invitations, suggestions, advice), (iv) the use of apologies if relevant (for requests, invitations, etc), (v) the use of qualifiers (e.g. I don't know for sure, but ...). (vi) hesitation in various forms, including self-editing.

c) accounts: carefully formulated explanations for why the (dispreferred) act is being done.

d) declination components: of a form suited to the nature of the first part of the pair, but characteristically indirect or mitigated.

Presented below some first parts of adjacency pairs

together with their preferred and dispreferred second parts.

Table 7: Preferred and Dispreferred Seconds.

FIRST PARTS:					
	Request	Offer/Invite	Assessment	Question	Blame
SECOND PARTS:					
Pre-ferred	acceptance	acceptance	agreement	expected answer	denial
Dispre-ferred:	refusal	refusal	disagreement	unexpected answer or non-answer	admis-sion

From Levinson (1983: 336)

It is evident from looking at the propositional content of the few examples of dispreferred seconds given above and the kinds of features that mark such a second part of an adjacency pair that not only are they dispreferred from a purely structural point of view but also from the psychological point of view of interactants. This point will be elaborated when we discuss power and conversation in section 7.3. In the next section however, we will be concentrating on discourse topic, an important area that may be considered the backbone of conversation.

7.2.5 Topic and Conversation.

In this section, topic is being considered as a discourse notion rather than as a grammatical item or a constituent in the structure of the sentence. Topic has been traditionally defined as 'what is being talked/written about' (cf Richards

et al (1985)). A more helpful definition for our purpose is the one by Keenan and Schieffelin (1975: 343) who see discourse topic as "the PROPOSITION (or set of propositions) about which the speaker is either providing or requesting new information".[3] By using proposition as the core of the definition, they appear to be emphasizing the fact that discourse topic is not representable by a noun phrase as in the case of sentential topic. Utterances in a conversation may be linked by a discourse topic or it may figure in only one utterance. Keenan and Schieffelin (1975) distinguish two types of discourse[4] depending on whether a topic is sustained over a sequence of two or more utterances or not. Discourse in which a topic is sustained over a sequence of two or more utterances is described as continuous discourse and that which is not is referred to as discontinuous discourse. They also distinguish two ways in which a topic may recur in a continuous discourse: collaborating discourse topic which is a topic that matches exactly that of the immediately preceding utterance and incorporating discourse topic which is a topic that takes some presupposition of the immediately preceding discourse topic and/or the new information provided relevant to the discourse topic preceding and makes use of it. On the other hand, in a discontinuous discourse, new topic may be introduced in two ways: the first which Keenan and Schieffelin call re-introducing discourse topic is utilizing in the utterance at hand a claim and/or a discourse topic (or part of it) that has appeared in the discourse history at some point prior to the immediately preceding utterance; the second which is called introducing discourse topic is utilizing in the

utterance at hand a discourse topic that is in no way related to the preceding utterance and does not draw on utterances produced elsewhere in the conversation.

Discourse topics are usually based on the question of immediate concern (Keenan and Schieffelin (1975: 344). Coulthard (1977: 76) also claims that conversationalists constantly process what is said for newsworthiness - 'why that now and to me'. The answers to the questions 'why', 'why now' and 'why to me' may not always be obvious from the utterance itself and conversationalists may need to resort to other sources to identify the topic. Keenan and Schieffelin (1975) say there are two sources viz non-verbal context and verbal context. Often, interlocutors refer to some non-verbal action or event that they are observing or experiencing and such observation or experience may be taken by the speaker as given information and introduced as topic. Similarly, the on-going discourse may itself be the source of the topic since speakers frequently draw their discourse topic from some proposition (or set of propositions) that has been produced in the course of the conversation. If the topic cannot be located in the above two ways, the listener can always clarify it with the speaker but he/she may not always wish to utilize this tactic since this may seem to the speaker that the hearer is being inattentive to the on-going discourse and thus appear to be discourteous. One of the maxims of Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle is the maxim of relation which states: Be relevant. This is elaborated as "Make your contribution relevant in terms of the existing topic framework" by Brown and Yule (1983: 84) who believe relevance to be a

fundamental convention of discourse. The essence of the maxim, they claim, is more succinctly captured by the expression speaking topically. A person speaks topically "when he makes his contribution fit closely to the most recent elements in the topic framework" (p.85). The topic framework according to Brown and Yule (1983: 83) "represents the area of overlap in the knowledge which has been activated and is shared by the participants at a particular point in a discourse". They state that 'speaking topically' is an obvious characteristic of casual conversation that has no fixed goal and where the participants make equal contribution. They also point out that there are also situations where the interlocutors may be speaking topically but also speaking on a topic. The example they give of an extreme case of 'speaking on a topic' is that of a debate where one participant totally ignores the previous speaker's talk and puts forward views that are unrelated to what the other participant has said. But as they say, this is indeed an extreme example since normally in a debate to score points a speaker must take into account what the other speaker has said to be able to refute the arguments of the opposite side. What usually happens is that as Brown and Yule later point out, any conversational fragment displays patterns of talk in which both talking topically and talking on a topic are present.

Just as turn-taking in conversation is not fixed beforehand, topics are also not pre-selected. Brown and Yule (1983:89) say that what topic may figure in the conversation is negotiated in the process of the conversation and "each speaker

makes a contribution to the conversation in terms of both the existing topic framework and his or her personal topic ..." However, they point out that occasionally there are occurrences of at least two versions of what is thought to be the topic which are likely to be incompatible. Since discourse is a co-operative event, they say that this possible incompatibility rarely leads to conflict over the conversational topic. When one speaker discovers that his/her version is not in accordance with what the other appears to be talking about he/she makes his/her contributions compatible with 'What I think you (not we) are talking about'. Nevertheless, topic conflicts can develop when two or more conversationalists compete to speak on the topic framework from their own angle. Coulthard (1977: 78-79) reports an instance where the conversationalists fight to develop the topic in their own way and each time one of them gets a turn he refuses to talk about the preceding speaker's topic and reconnects with what he has been saying in a previous turn. This type of connection which Coulthard calls skip connecting is, he says, not uncommon but it appears that speakers use this device over one utterance only and once the conflict is resolved the conversation moves forward.

Introducing a topic in conversation does not necessarily mean that other participants will automatically adopt, develop or maintain it. As Valentine (1985: 197) notes not only must one participant raise a topic but the other must respond. If the conversation is to progress and not move in circles or break down, not only must the basic rules regarding topic selection, construction, maintenance and

change be observed by all the participants but each must also make the necessary contributions. In the next section, we shall be considering the different aspects of conversation that have been dealt with in relation to the power position of interactants.

7.3 Power and Conversation.

McCall and Simmons (1966: 157) claim that in an interaction, it is rare for participants to have equal say in directing the nature and the course of the encounter. They go as far as to say that although peers may exist in terms of age, occupational level and legal status, when it comes to interpersonal encounters there are no peers. They also claim that the distribution of power among the interlocutors range between two limits: complete equality and absolute control. While it must be admitted that a constant imbalance in power in favour of one of the dyad may exist in certain interactions, on the other hand, power may also shift from one member of the dyad to the other in the course of the interaction.

In examining the power structure in conversational interaction, it will be useful to distinguish two types of power. The first which I shall refer to as interactional power stems from the extra information or knowledge that one interactant possesses over the other(s) with regard to the topic under discussion. The second type which will be referred to as inherent power is the power that is derived from the prestige, status, interactional role or the power resources that the interactant possesses that the other(s) value. The second type can be said to be more constant than the first, both during the course of the conversation as well as during the relationship and usually lasts unless there is some alteration to the status or role of the interactants concerned or when the wielder of power loses the resources

the subordinate values or when he/she loses interest in them.

Research done in the area of power-sensitive encounters (Blaker (1979), Fowler et al (1979), O'Barr (1982), Thomas (1985b) etc.) have shown that speech styles of superordinates and subordinates in specific situations show a marked difference. Conley, O'Barr and Lind (1982: 1380) in a study of courtroom interaction claim that powerless witnesses who are usually of low social status - the poor and uneducated, display marked characteristics in speaking:

> This style is characterized by the frequent use of words and expressions that convey a lack of forcefulness in speaking. Among the specific features of this style is the abundant use of hedges (prefactory remarks such as "I think" and "It seems like", appended remarks like "you know"; and modifiers such as "kinda" and "sort of") hesitation forms (words and sounds that carry no substantive meaning but only fill possible speech pauses, such as "uh", "um" and "well"; polite forms (for example, the use of "sir" and "please"); and question intonation (making a declarative statement with rising intonation so as to convey uncertainty). An additional feature of this style is the frequent use of intensifiers (for example, "very", "definitely" and "surely")....

In the conversational areas discussed in the preceding sections marked differences can also be found between the

conversational styles of subordinates and superordinates in power-sensitive contexts. The first point to note is that while the wielder of interactional power can exert control over turn-taking such as taking longer and more frequent turns, the wielder of inherent power has far wider powers and can exercise control over any or all of the aspects discussed. It can generally be assumed that an interactant who wields inherent power also exercises interactional power at the same time. However, this need not always be the case and the latter may in some instances take precedence over the former as McCall and Simmons (1966: 157-158) note: "They[5] remain relatively constant over a series of encounters, however, and may be outweighed in a given encounter by more transitory resources, like isolated and atypical pieces of information, momentary determination, transient advantages in energy level, and the like." Since most of what is said about inherent power also applies to interactional power, the discussion on power and conversation will largely concentrate on the former.

Turn-taking is one area of conversation that is sensitive to either type of power. According to Allwood (1980: 14), a wielder of power is said to lack inhibition. He claims that such a person expects others not only to allow him/her to speak but also speak longer than others and he/she interrupts others without fear of sanctions. It must also be added that not only is a superordinate uninhibited in matters regarding turn length and turn frequency but also in the way turns are taken and avoided: he/she may interrupt others in order to gain the floor, freely use the turn-taking technique

of self-selection rather than wait to be selected by a speaker and may, if he/she so wishes, miss a turn, i.e take no notice when being selected by others to take a turn usually without any adverse affect. On the other hand, a subordinate may be said to behave in just the opposite manner. He/she normally takes a turn only when selected, becomes silent when interrupted and his/her utterances are usually brief.

The type of rules involved in turn-taking have been describ-ed in section 7.2.1. O'Barr (1982: 70-71) claims that these basic rules of turn-taking can be manipulated by an interactant to his/her advantage and he mentions several ways in which it may be carried out. The first technique is for the speaker to construct a turn in which the occurence of a TRP (cf section 7.2.1) is delayed for a lengthy period at least until the main points have been communicated. The second technique is the strategic placement of pauses to hold the floor by 'owning' periods of silence within his/her own turn. The pauses are made at points where no TRP or interruptions can occur. Another technique is the manipulation of the current-speaker-select-next speaker technique. As in the question '<u>Do you know what I think</u>?' as opposed to '<u>Bill, what do you think</u>?' an interactant can construct a turn in such a way that he/she is guaranteed to gain a further turn. The fourth technique is the exploitation of interruption to gain a turn. An interactant can interrupt the current speaker but stopping short of taking a full turn. When this occurs O'Barr says, the one who interrupts and stops short of a turn is usually allowed a full turn by other

interactants and this amounts to being preselected as next speaker before a TRP, or without having to be selected by the current speaker. O'Barr however, admits that these techniques are successful only under appropriate circumstances. The techniques described by O'Barr are as frequent -ly exploited in ordinary conversation as in other speech exchange systems such as small group discussions where turns are highly valued and sought after since interactants, to communicate their opinions, need to make the appropriate contributions at the appropriate time and as fully as possible. While such techniques may be tolerated in peer encounters, they may not be acceptable in power-sensitive ones. It would be certainly difficult for a subordinate to make use of then since any attempt at manipulation would be view -ed by a superordinate as an endeavour to gain control and may provoke his/her hostility. In the case of the superordinate, he/she has very little cause to make use of them since the subordinate is only too willing to allow him/her to take as many turns as he/she wants and make his/her contributions as long as he/she wishes to. If he/she so desires to exploit these devices, he/she can of course do so unhindered.

We have already seen in sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2. that unlike some speech exchange systems, formal turn distribution is not a characteristic of casual conversation. However, one may occasionally come across an encounter where one interactant appears to act in the capacity of a turn allotter curtailing one speaker's turn and giving the floor to another and selecting who will speak next. The control

exercised by the turn allotter is of course not as rigid as in some speech exchange system as for instance classroom interaction which we have looked at in some detail in which turn allocation forms an integral part. Although this type of tactic may sometimes occur in peer encounters, it is more common in power-sensitive encounters where one of the interactants is more powerful than others in terms of age or status. One example is that of a family conversation where the mother or father sees to the distribution of turns among the children in order to prevent conflicts from arising. It need hardly be stressed that subordinates make no claim to the role of allotter of turns.

We have discussed in section 7.2.3 the different types of repair available to conversationalists and the way these are ranked in terms of preference. It will be observed that Levinson (1983) following Schegloff et al (1977) offers a structural reason for the way in which different types of repair are graded. While there is no doubt that the reasons he gives are well substantiated, nonetheless he seems to have dealt only with the surface features of these preferences and fails to take into account what in my opinion are important underlying features.[6] These underlying features are in my view related to socio-pragmatic[7] motives in particular the upholding of what Leech (1983) calls the Politeness Principle. He defines it as follows: "In its negative form, the PP might be formulated in a general way: 'Minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs', and there is a corresponding positive version ('maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite

beliefs') ..." (1983: 81). One reason for observing the Politeness Principle and showing good manners and consideration for others is as Leech (1983: 82) succinctly puts it "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enables us to assume that our interlocutors are being co-operative in the first place" and, it may be added, to keep the channel open both during the present encounter as well as for future encounters . If one can help it, one does not normally wish to associate with people who are thoughtless, tactless, extremely critical, disagreeable or who brag excessively, in short, people who do not observe the maxims of politeness that Leech (1983: 31) mentions. Although he has related each of the maxims to specific categories of illocutionary acts such as the tact maxim with impositives and commissives, the agreement maxim with assertives and the modesty maxim with expressives and asser-tives, the maxims appear to be useful also in considering other aspects of the communicative use of language such as in discovering why the repair mechanism is constructed in the way it is. Looking at the six maxims that Leech claims deal with polite behaviour, the use of other-initiated repair, the least preferred form of repair, in casual conversation appears to violate in one way or another three of the maxims (ibid).

These are:

Tact Maxim.

(a) Minimize cost to other.

(b) Maximize benefit to other.

(Minimize the expression of beliefs which express or imply cost to other.)

Agreement Maxim.

(a) Minimize disagreement between self and other.

(b) Maximize agreement between self and other.

Modesty Maxim.

(a) Minimize praise of self.

(b) Maximize dispraise of self.

Other-repair can be considered a violation of the maxim of tact since being 'corrected' by another person (especially repeatedly) can be a source of embarrassment for the person concerned, even though there may be a good reason for doing so, and is therefore a face-threatening action that is costly to other. Similarly, it can be claimed that it violates the maxim of agreement since by 'correcting' another, one is in a way expressing disagreement with what that person has said. Finally, it appears to break the maxim of modesty because by pointing out another person's 'error' and substituting what one regards as 'correct' information, one may be regarded as guilty of overly displaying one's knowledge at the cost of another. If what has been said is not stretching too much Leech's original formulation, other-initiated repair may be considered as a major violation of the politeness principle. Seen in this light, it is not surprising that self-initiated self-repair is the most preferred form of repair and other-initiated other-repair the least. It is also not surprising that other-initiated other-repair is marked by what Levinson (1983: 342) calls modulators (items

like 'I think') and prefaces (eg. 'You mean') in order to mitigate the force of the repair and any sense of impoliteness it may convey. In connection with wielders of power and their expected behaviour with regard to the observance of politeness rules, Allwood (1980: 15) notes: "The extent to which politeness is required from the wielders of power varies considerably from situation to situation and from culture to culture. But one would expect greater directness and less paraphrasing of questions and orders in phrases of politeness. Initial and preparatory sequences can be skipped with greater ease by superordinates than by subordinates." As in the case of questions and orders that Allwood mentions, so also in the case of repair, when the superordinate wishes to use the least preferred form of repair he can dispense with the modulators and prefaces that Levinson says usually accompany this form of repair. While the superordinate is unrestricted in his/her choice of what type of repair he/she may use and how it should be phrased, in the case of the subordinate, since he/she has to avoid all suggestions of impoliteness, he/she has to stick to the preferred type of repair and the least preferred form is used only when the outcome of not using this particular form of repair adversely affects him/her. When the use of this form is unavoidable, the subordinate usually marks it with those devices that Levinson mentions, in order to minimize the expression of any impolite beliefs and to express his/her reluctance to use it.

It will be noted in section 7.2.4 that preferred second turns to adjacency pairs not only express concord with their

first parts in the structural sense but also express 'agreement' from a propositional point of view. In contrast, dispreferred seconds may be viewed as propositionally not in 'agreement' with their second parts. As such they may be seen as breaking the maxim of agreement in more or less the same way as repair does. It is therefore not surprising that there exist a large number of features that mark a dispreferred second turn (cf section 7.2.4). From an interactional point of view, these features may be seen as an attempt by the user to mitigate the 'disagreement' that a dispreferred second turn may express. Allwood (1980: 16) notes that the language of submission has a close relationship with the language of politeness. Since using dispreferred second turns can in the majority of cases be regarded as violating the politeness principle, a subordinate will try as much as possible to avoid using them. If he/she does not succeed, he/she will usually attempt to mitigate it with the use of those devices that Levinson claims mark such type of turn in contrast to the superordinate who is at greater liberty to express his/her will in a direct manner without appearing to violate unduly the maxims of politeness.

In section 7.2.4 it was said that topic is the backbone of conversation. This remark has been made in the light of the experience that conversationalists often face when an inappropriate topic has been chosen and they need to work hard to keep the conversation from drying up. Choice of topic can also restrict the participation of certain members of the party and may even be used to exclude an interactant from the talk. For instance if there are three

participants and if two of them are, say doctors while the third belongs to some other profession, the other two can easily exclude the third by raising for instance a topic about some obscure medical research paper which the third person can in no way be acquainted with, unless the excluded person is in a kind of relationship with the other two, for instance a close friend, in which case he/she can make a protest about their talking shop and make them change the topic to one more accessible to him/her. If on the other hand he/she is a subordinate in the interaction, then all he/she can do is to remain a silent participant until they move on-to another topic. Choice of topic can act as a manifestation of power or lack of it. A subordinate, Allwood (1980: 15) says "does not insist on any particular topic" nor, it may be added, has he/she the right to do so. Moreover as a subordinate he/she needs to make himself/herself aware of or be alert to any indications of the kind of topics that are anathema to the superordinate. If he/she cannot avoid raising a topic that a superordinate is not willing to discuss, he/she may either seek his/her permission to talk about it as pupils do with their teacher in class (cf section 7.2.5) or make use of some of the devices that Levinson (1983: 334-5) mentions with regards to dispreferred second turns - devices such as prefaces made up of apologies or hesitations, accounts and indirectness to disguise the topic as much as possible or to display his/her reluctance to bring up the topic which is anathema to the superordinate. In the case of the superordinate he/she can "raise any topic he wants, in any way he wants" (Allwood, 1980: 14).

From the way things have been presented one may perhaps get the impression that a superordinate's and subordinate's behaviour regarding the various aspects of conversation are diametrically opposite to one another. To correct this impression it must be pointed out that what I am attempting to show is that where there are choices while subordinates tend to have fewer choices open to them superordinates have a much wider choice from which they can freely select without provoking any sanctions from the subordinate but it must be noted that a superordinate does not always select the least dispreferred or the most marked forms, nor does a subordinate always make use of the most preferred forms. What forms are permissible for the subordinate is of course subject to negotiation during the course of the interaction. Lastly, it is necessary to note that the influence of power is not as uncommon as standard descriptions of conversation sometimes make it seem. In this connection it will be useful to note what Fairclough (1985: 756-7) says:

> ... there has been such an emphasis on co-operative conversation between equals that even matters of status have been relatively neglected.
>
> The descriptive approach has virtually elevated co-operative conversation between equals into an archetype of verbal interaction in general.

7.4 Conversational Strategies and Power in Memento Mori.

7.4.1 Introduction.

As mentioned in Chapter 6 the interpersonal relationships between the characters in Memento Mori can be roughly classified into three groups: asymmetrical relationship - relationship in which the balance of power is in favour of one of the dyad and the subordinate makes no attempt to challenge it; peer relationship - relationship in which both interactants are more or less equal in power status and thirdly, conflict relationship - relationship in which one of the interactants attempts to change the power structure to his/her advantage which is resisted by the other. As was discussed in Chapter 6, none of these relationships can be said to remain stable and they may shift from one type into another or in the case of asymmetrical relationships, the balance of power may swing from one to the other with any new development in the relationship.

From the way two characters interact not only do we get an indication of the personalities of each of them but also how they view each other as standing in relation to him/her on the scale of power and social distance (cf Leech, (1983: 126)). The overall relationships between the characters in Memento Mori have already been described in Chapter 6 in detail and the aim of section 7.4.2 which centres around Charmian and the two that follow is to look at specific interactions from various angles in order to justify what has been said in the previous chapter. The focus of

this section is on the conversation structure of certain character interactions in Memento Mori which are interesting from the point of view of how power influences the conversational strategies they employ. The relationships selected for analysis are: asymmetrical relationships: Charmian Colston-Godfrey Colston, Charmian Colston-Lettie Colston, Charmian Colston-Mrs Anthony, Godfrey Colston-Mrs Pettigrew, and the grannies of Maud Long Ward-doctor and nurses relationships; peer relationships: Godfrey Colston-Lettie Colston, and Mrs Pettigrew-Mrs Anthony relationships; conflict relationships: Godfrey Colston-Lettie Colston, Charmian Colston-Mrs Pettigrew and Mrs Pettigrew-Mrs Anthony relationships. Some of the relationships have been subsumed under more than one category as they shift from one type of relationship into another during the course of the association.

7.4.2 Strategic Turns.

In Memento Mori, turn-taking and turn-allotment are exploited in various ways by certain characters to consolidate, assert, display and defend their power and by others as a means of indicating their lack of opposition, competition or hostile intentions. It has been pointed out in section 7.2.2 that although turn-allotment is not a characteristic of casual conversation, in certain interactions especially in power-sensitive encounters it may occur. It is a distinctive element in a few of the encounters in the text notably the encounter between Mrs Pettigrew and Charmian Colston on pages 55-57 to be the first presented to the

reader. Charmian is entertaining Alec Warner, an old friend, a sociologist turned gerontologist who takes the opportunity to observe the behaviour of the elderly woman who has been selected as one of his subjects. Mrs Pettigrew goes into the sitting-room 'to keep an eye' on Charmian 'whether she likes it or whether she doesn't' (p.55). As soon as Mrs Pettigrew enters the rooms, she makes an excuse for the intrusion with a show of concern for Charmian's well being with a polite enquiry:

> 'Oh, Mrs Colston, I was wondering if you were tired'.[8] (p.55)

Charmian displays her hostility at this intrusion by making no acknowledgement of the woman's enquiry and instead orders her to take away the tea-things which may be taken as an indirect way of asking her to leave the room. However, after the initial show of deference, Mrs Pettigrew's demeanor changes. Instead of removing the tea-things herself as Charmian has ordered, she rings for Mrs Anthony, the housekeeper, to come and remove them. Then she takes a seat and extracts a cigarette from her handbag to smoke without first seeking permission from Charmian to perform either of these actions or being invited to which are usually required in her circumstances as a subordinate. Alec Warner, unconcerned by Mrs Pettigrew's flouting of interactional rules, acknowledges Mrs Pettigrew with a smile and a nod and even lights her cigarette for her. Charmian, impatient to carry on with the conversation interrupted by Mrs Pettigrew, asks Warner to resume the conversation. Warner, however,

in an attempt to enable Mrs Pettigrew to become a participant in the conversation informs her about the topic and even asks her a question. After answering Warner's question she urges him to resume his talk. At this point Charmian hijacks the turn to talk about her trip to Russia:

> 'When I went to Russia,' said Charmian,
> 'the sarina sent an escort to -' (p.56)

At Charmian's attempt to usurp a turn which she has specifically alloted to Alec Warner making use of the 'current speaker select next' technique, Mrs Pettigrew interrupts the latter and stops her from completing the turn without in any way mitigating it by using what may be considered an unmitigated form of order:

> 'Now, Mrs Colston, just a moment, while
> Mr Alec Warner tells us about democracy'. (p.56)

Charmian is obviously astonished and taken aback at the way she is interrupted and stopped from completing her turn by a subordinate in a manner mimetic of the way a teacher controls and allots turns to his/her pupils in the classroom:

> 'Charmian looked about her strangely
> for a moment ...' (p.56)

However, suprisingly enough, Charmian makes no protest at this blatent exercise of control by a person who is clearly her subordinate and even asks Warner to continue as directed by Mrs Pettigrew.[9]
As will be seen by their next encounter that evening, Mrs

Pettigrew continues to behave in a similar fashion towards Charmian. She again interrupts Charmian before she can complete her turn in the manner of a superordinate:

> ... Charmian had spoken sharply, 'I think, Mrs Pettigrew-'
>
> 'Oh, do call me Mabel and be friendly.' (p.64)

Charmian completely ignores Mrs Pettigrew's direction and in her next turn completes what she wants to say. As mentioned in Chapter 6, Charmian is not a person to surrender easily to Mrs Pettigrew's attempt to gain control over her and she soon endeavors to counteract it.

As a comparison to Mrs Pettigrew's way of asserting control on turn-taking and the way Charmian dealt with Mrs Pettigrew's interruptions we will take a look at the way Henry Mortimer, retired Chief Inspector of Police, allots and controls turns at the gathering in his house of those harassed by the anonymous phone call. In contrast to Mrs Pettigrew, it will be noted that the interactional power he has over the others, though temporary, is legitimate stemming from his role as the person in charge of the proceedings and as an expert in the matter. The gathering is semi-formal and Mortimer acts in a businesslike fashion. At the beginning of the proceedings, Mortimer sets the rules for turn-taking with the approval of those present:

> 'I propose to read each one aloud by turn, and you may add any further comments after I have read it. Does that course meet with approval?' (p.146)

Any interruption is dealt with firmly but politely and he makes use of various tactics to defend his turns. The following extracts examplify Mortimer's techniques. In the first, at Godfrey's and Charmian's intrusions which develop into an argument between the couple, he seeks their permission to proceed, thus effectively but politely asking them to terminate their turns. He does however, offer Charmian a turn after he completes his own. When Godfrey intrudes again, Mortimer make no acknowledgement of his contribution and proceeds with what he has been saying. When Lettie Colston intrudes, he stops her by offering her a turn later on.

> '... Use your head, Charmian'.
>
> 'He was,' said Charmian, 'most civil on all three occasions'.
>
> 'Perhaps,' said Henry, 'If I could continue ...? Then Charmian can add her comments'. (p.147)

> 'How could he be civil?' said Godfrey.
>
> 'Mr. Guy Leet', Henry announced, taking up the next paper. 'Oh, Guy isn't here, of course-' (pp. 147-148)

> 'Quite,' said Dame Lettie. 'The police-'
>
> 'However, we will discuss these factors later', said Henry. (p.148)

'To come to the point-' said Godfrey.

'Godfrey,' said Charmian, 'I am sure everyone is fascinated by what Henry is saying'. (p.151)

In the last excerpt, it is Charmian who curtails Godfrey's turn which can be taken as another sign of her mental recovery and growing assertiveness and independence. It has been pointed out in section 7.3 that in a power-sensitive encounter, a superordinate comes to an interaction with the expectations of being permitted to take a speaking turn as often as he/she wishes, speak as long as he/she wants, freely interrupt others and make use of either type of turn-taking technique - 'current speaker select next' or 'first starter self selection for next speakership'. In the case of the subordinate, it has been mentioned, he/she prefers to take a turn when selected, desists from interrupting others, becomes silent when interrupted and limits himself/herself to making brief utterances. In Memento Mori, the interactants in one asymmetrical relationship, namely the Godfrey Colston - Mrs Pettigrew relationship, display all the above mentioned characteristics regarding turn-taking in a power-sensitive encounter. It is made more marked by the fact that during the course of the relationship, a reversal occurs in the power ownership when the subordinate at the beginning of the relationship becomes the superordinate and vice versa. How the reversal is achieved by the subordinate and how the relationship progresses have been fully described in Chapter 6. In this section, the aim is to examine the encounters in which Godfrey and Mrs

Pettigrew figure and see how power ownership is correlated to the number of turns taken and type of turn utilized. The following table shows a break-down of the number of turns Mrs Pettigrew and Godfrey and other participants take, the number of turns directed at each other, the length of turns in terms of the number of sentences in each of the six verbal encounters of the eleven in which Mrs Pettigrew and Godfrey are participants from the time of Mrs Pettigrew's arrival in the Colston household to the end of the novel. Five of these encounters have been excluded since the interactions between them in these are so brief that they make no significant contribution to the analysis.

Table 8.

Turn Taking in Six Episodes in Memento Mori.

Page	Addresser	Addressee + No of Turns Directed to him/her								Total No. of Turns	Total No. of Sentences
		G	P	C	E	A	C+ P	G+ P	C+ G		
75-78	Godfrey	X	1	8	X	0	0	X	X	9	20
	Mrs Pettigrew	1	X	7	X	2	X	X	2	12	18
	Charmian	8	6	X	X	3	X	1	X	18	29
	Mrs Anthony	X	X	3	X	X	X	X	X	3	4
105-109	Godfrey	X	1	11	X	X	1	X	X	13	30
	Mrs Pettigrew	1	X	3	X	X	X	X	5	9	11
	Charmian	7	7	X	X	X	X	1	X	15	28
120-122	Godfrey	X	11	X	X	X	X	X	X	11	21
	Mrs Pettigrew	10	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10	17
132-133	Godfrey	X	7	X	X	X	X	X	X	7	18
	Mrs Pettigrew	8	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8	18
163-164	Godfrey	X	5	X	X	X	X	X	X	5	7
	Mrs Pettigrew	11	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11	21
203-204	Godfrey	X	1	X	6	X	X	X	X	7	8
	Mrs Pettigrew	6	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	6	6
	Eric Colston	5	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	5	5

(G = Godfrey; P = Mrs Pettigrew; C = Charmian; E = Eric Colston; A = Mrs Anthony).

Apart from Godfrey and Mrs Pettigrew, the other participants in the first encounter are Charmian and Mrs Anthony who joins them near the end. Looking at the number of turns each of the main interactants takes, we see that Godfrey has taken fewer turns than either Mrs Pettigrew or Charmian but on the other hand, examining turn lengths, we discover that Godfrey is usually the one to speak the longest with an average of 2.2 sentences per turn followed by Charmian with 1.6 and Mrs Pettigrew with 1.5. The picture regarding Godfrey-Mrs Pettigrew interaction becomes clearer when we examine to whom each character directs his/her turns. In Godfrey's case an overwhelming majority of the turns are directed at Charmian, his wife, with only one turn directed at Mrs Pettigrew and even this turn is used to dismiss her contribution disparagingly when she attempts to intrude in the conversation between the couple using the self selection technique without waiting to be offered a turn by the former:

> 'She was before my time, of course,' said Mrs Pettigrew.
>
> 'Nonsense,' said Godfrey. (p.75)

The only turn directed at Godfrey alone by Mrs Pettigrew is the one that refutesGodfrey's dismissal in the above exchange:

> 'I beg your pardon, Mr Colston, she was before my time. If she retired in 1893 I was only a child in 1893'. (p.75)

In the above encounter Godfrey seems not to acknowledge Mrs

Pettigrew's presence and appears not to think it necessary to bring Mrs Pettigrew into the conversation and when she attempts to join in, he puts an end to it with a curt remark.

In the next encounter on pages 105-109 Godfrey dominates the interaction, both in terms of the number of turns as well as length of turns. As in the previous encounter, here too, most of the time both Godfrey and Mrs Pettigrew direct their turns to Charmian. As in the previous encoun -ter, Godfrey appears to maintain a certain distance between him and Mrs Pettigrew with only a single turn exchange occurr -ing between them in the whole encounter:

> 'Tempest Sidebottome!' said Mrs Pettigrew, reaching to take the paper from his hand. 'Let me see'.
>
> Godfrey withdrew the paper and opened his mouth as if to protest, then closed it again. However, he said, 'I am not finished with the paper'. (p.107)

In the next encounter however, there is a dramatic change in the interaction structure between Mrs Pettigrew and Godfrey since this takes place after Mrs Pettigrew has been able to assert control on Godfrey through blackmail. The number of turns each takes is more or less the same - eleven for Godfrey and ten for Mrs Pettigrew. It must be admitted that one can find no significance in this since it is a two participants interaction. However, what is interesting is the fact that in a substantial number of cases, Mrs Pettigrew's turns form the first parts to adjacency pairs (c f

section 7.2.4) and Godfrey's turns form the second parts clearly marking Mrs Pettigrew as the dominant interactant:

'Who was that on the phone, Godfrey?' she said. (elecitation)

'A man... I can't understand. It should have been for Lettie but he definitely said it was for me. I thought the message-' (reply)

'What did he say?' (elicitation)

'That thing he says to Lettie. But he said, "Mr Colston, it's for you, Mr Colston", I don't understand...' (reply) (p.120)

'I have,' said Mabel Pettigrew. 'Want a drink?' (reply; elicitation)

'I feel I need a little-' (reply) (p.121)

She said, 'Now look. This is all imagination'. (informative)

He muttered something about being in charge of his faculities. (react)

'In that case', she said -'in <u>that</u> case, have you seen your lawyer yet?' (elicitation)

He muttered something about next week. (reply)

'You have an appointment with him,' she said,'this afternoon.' (informative)

'This afternoon? who - how....' (react) (p.121)

'You can take a taxi if you don't feel up to driving. It's no distance,' (directive)

'next week', he shouted, for the
brandy had restored him. (react) (p.122)

The same pattern continues in the encounter on pages 132-133 where of Godfrey's seven turns six form second parts to Mrs Pettigrew's first parts. Similarly in the next encounter on pages 163-164, Godfrey continues to take a subordinate role in the interaction with four out of his five turns forming second parts to Mrs Pettigrew's firsts. Another significant fact about this encounter is the wide disparity in the number of turns each takes: Mrs Pettigrew has eleven while Godfrey has only five and this is emphasized by the fact that the disparity extends also to turn length. While Godfrey's turns on average consist of 1.4 sentences, Mrs Pettigrew's consist of 1.9, displaying how infrequent and how brief Godfrey's turns have become.

Just before the final encounter between Mrs Pettigrew and Godfrey on pages 203-204, Godfrey has been given information by Jean Taylor through Alec Warner which liberates him from Mrs Pettigrew's blackmail. With the knowledge he is no longer under the control of Mrs Pettigrew, Godfrey dramatically alters his behaviour towards her. Ironically, the latter not knowing about this change in circumstances continues to behave towards Godfrey in the domineering manner that she has adopted since she started blackmailing him. The most interesting and amusing aspect of this encounter is the fact that while Mrs Pettigrew directs all the turns at Godfrey, the latter uses the turns he has gained not to reply to her but to address his son Eric with one exception:

'Where on earth have you been?' said Mrs Pettigrew. 'Eric is here to see you'.

'Oh, good evening, Eric', said Godfrey. 'Have a drink'.

'I've got one', said Eric.

'I'm keeping quite well, thank you', said Godfrey, raising his voice.

'Oh really?' said Eric.

'Eric wishes to speak to you, Godfrey'.

'Mrs Pettigrew and I are in this together, Father'.

'In what?'

'The question of the new will. And in the meantime, I expect to be remunerated according to the situation'.

'You're growing a paunch', said Godfrey. 'I haven't got a paunch'.

'Otherwise we shall really have to present Mother with the facts'.

'Be reasonable, Godfrey', said Mrs Pettigrew.

'Get to hell out of my house, Eric', said Godfrey. 'I give you ten minutes or I call the police'.

'I think we're a little tired', said Mrs Pettigrew, 'aren't we?'

'And you leave tomorrow morning'. he said to her.

The door bell rang.

'Who can that be?' said Mrs Pettigrew. 'Did you forget to leave the car lights on, Godfrey?'

Godfrey ignored the bell. 'You can't tell Charmian anything', he said, 'that she doesn't know already'.

'What did you say?' said Mrs Pettigrew.

The door bell rang again.

Godfrey left them and went to open it. (pp.203-4)

It will be noted that while Mrs Pettigrew directs six turns to Godfrey, the latter addresses her directly only once. This constant ignoring of Mrs Pettigrew by Godfrey demonstrates both his contempt for her as well as his new found independence and by the end of the encounter we see the downfall of Mrs Pettigrew with her dismissal from service by Godfrey.

7.4.3 Recurrent Repairs.

One of the prerogatives of the superordinate in an asymetrical relationship, it has been mentioned in section 7.3, is his/her right to make use of dispreferred forms of repair without the employment of any mitigating devices if he/she so chooses. On the other hand, it has been noted that the subordinate, if he/she initiates repair at all, adheres to the most preferred forms. In Memento Mori, the use of repair is most prominent in a large number of the interactions that centre around Charmian Colston. Due to her advanced

age, her poor state of health and the confused state of her mind, Charmian becomes dependent on others even for her bas -ic physical needs. This vulnerability exposes her to the manipulation and disrespect of some of those with whom she has to associate. The attitude that these characters hold towards her is clearly revealed in the way they express their superiority over her by correcting every little mistake she makes. One of the characters most notorious for his intolerance of the lapses of an eighty-five year old woman suffering from neurasthenia is her husband Godfrey who is extremely proud of the good state of his faculties. Examining the various encounters between the couple, we note the following general features:

1. All the repairs that occur are carried out by Godfrey and none by Charmian.
2. The repairs that Godfrey employs are of the most dispreferred type - other initiated other repair type.
3. None of them contain any devices that mitigate them.

We shall be discussing nine instances of Godfrey's use of repair in his interactions with Charmian and the way the latter reacts to them which will partly reveal to us the way their relationship progresses during the course of the novel. The first exchange is found on page 10:

> 'Taylor, I am dropping off to sleep for five minutes. Telephone to St Mark's and say I am coming'.
>
> Just at that moment Godfrey entered the room holding his hat and wearing his outdoor coat.

'What's that you say?' he said.

'Oh, Godfrey, you made me start'.

'Taylor...' he repeated. 'St Mark's... Don't you realise there is no maid in this room, and furthermore you are not in Venice?'

In the above exchange, Godfrey overhearing Charmian talking to an apparently non-existent maid and thinking she is in a different part of the world, repeats her mistake and then corrects and rebukes her brusquely at the same time. Charmian makes no reply to this censure and appears to attempt to end it by changing the topic.

In the following exchange which occurs in the same episode as the above, Godfrey again make use of an other-initiated other-repair type of correction:

'That was a pleasant young man who called the other day,' said Charmian.

'Which young man?'

'From the paper. the one who wrote-'

'That was five years and two months ago,' said Godfrey.

'Why can't one be kind to her?' he asked himself... (pp.10-11)

One mistake that Charmian frequently makes is addressing Godfrey and some other men as Eric which is her son's name and this is corrected by either Godfrey or Mrs Pettigrew as often as it occurs:

'I mean, I'm sure you are right, Eric dear.'

'I am not Eric,' said Godfrey. 'You are not sure I'm right...' (p.32)

'Ah, said Charmian, 'you are taking revenge, Eric.'

'I am not Eric,' he said. (p.78)

Although Charmian accepts Godfrey's repairs without any protest in the above instance, when she is less confused as in the following two exchanges, she is less pliable and express-es her disagreement with Godfrey's corrections and in the first exchange it even leads to an argument between the two, an evidence of how unstable Godfrey's hold on Charmian is:

'Why', said Charmian, 'that is a Catholic practice. We are always recommended to consider each night our actions of the past day. It is an admirable-'

'Not the same thing', said Godfrey, 'at all. You are speaking exclusively of one's moral actions. ... Take yourself for example. You only have to appeal to psychology-'

'To whom?' said Charmian cattily... (pp.105-6)

... She was newly out from Australia and her uncle was a rector in Dorset - as was also my uncle, Mrs Pettigrew -'

'Your uncle was not in Dorset. He was up in Yorkshire', said Godfrey.

'But he was a country rector like Tempest's uncle. Leave me alone, Godfrey. I am just telling Mrs Pettigrew'.

'Oh, do call be Mabel', said Mrs Pettigrew winking at Godfrey.

'Her uncle, Mabel,' said Charmian 'was a rector... and of course as a girl she was considerably younger than me.'

'She is still younger than you', said Godfrey.

'No, Godfrey not now.' (p.108)

Correcting Charmian has become a second nature to Godfrey to such an extent that in one instance he even corrects her wrongly which earns him a rebuttal from her:

'... Ah, it's you, Mrs Pettigrew', said Charmian.

'She is not Taylor', said Godfrey, with automatic irritability.

'I know it', said Charmian. (p.155)

The one-sided use of repair by Godfrey in his relationship with Charmian reflects the power balance in the relationship. However, we find that as Charmian's health gradually improves, she becomes less receptive to Godfrey's correction as she once was at the beginning of the novel when she was in an extremely confused state.

Another person who takes delight in correcting any little mistake Charmian makes is her sister-in-law Dame Lettie

Colston who has little regard or sympathy for her and treats her with utter contempt. Like Godfrey, she makes use of only other-initiated other-repair, the overt type of repair, when she corrects Charmian. In the following exchange Charm -ian mistakes Lettie for her former maid and companion Jean Taylor. In correcting Charmian, she not only makes use of the least preferred form of repair but also provides a leng -thy analysis of the former's mistake, mimetic of a teacher correcting a pupil's mistake:

> 'Did you have a nice evening at the pictures, Taylor?' said Charmian.
>
> 'I am not Taylor', said Dame Lettie, 'and in any case, you always called Taylor "Jean" during her last twenty or so years in service'. (p.12)

Unfortunately for Charmian, she again mistakes her house-keeper, Mrs Anthony, for Jean Taylor. While the latter makes no protests, Lettie takes the opportunity to correct Charmian again and once more gives a lengthy explanation of her mistake:

> 'Did you have a nice evening at the pictures, Taylor?' Charmian asked her.
>
> 'Yes, thanks Mrs Colston,' said the housekeeper.
>
> 'Mrs Anthony is not Taylor', said Lettie. 'There is no one by name of Taylor here. And anyway you used to call her Jean latterly. It was only when you were a girl that you called

> Taylor Taylor. And, in any event, Mrs Anthony is not Taylor! (p.12)

When Godfrey enters the room, Charmian mistakenly addresses him as Eric which provokes Lettie to correct her for the third time in a row:

> Godfrey came in. He kissed Charmian. She said, 'Good morning, Eric'.
>
> 'He is not Eric', said Dame Lettie. (pp.12-13)

Charmian, confused and powerless, accepts all of Lettie's repairs in complete silence and in the following exchange it is Godfrey who has to come to her rescue when Lettie not only corrects her but also becomes quite nasty and sarcastic about the mistake that Charmian has made:

> 'Well, I should like the war news', Charmian said.
>
> 'The war has been over since nineteen forty-five', Dame Lettie said. 'If indeed it is the last war you are referring to. Perhaps, however, you mean the First World War? The Crimean perhaps ...'
>
> 'Lettie, please,' said Godfrey. (p.13)

How low Charmian has sunk in Lettie's esteem can be gauged in the next episode when Charmian seeing Lettie, greets her addressing her as Taylor to which the latter simply ignores and even moves her chair so that her back is turned towards her sister-in-law.

The third person who attempts to correct Charmian is Mrs

Pettigrew. This action on Mrs Pettigrew's part makes it marked as she is an employee of the latter. The first time she corrects Charmian is in the presence of Alec Warner and with an air of a superior she employs the other-initiated other-repair without mitigating it in any way:

> Charmian looked about her strangely for a moment, then said, 'Yes, continue about democracy, Eric!
>
> 'Not Eric- Alec', said Mrs Pettigrew. (p.56)

As with Godfrey and Lettie, Charmian registers no protest at this infringment of interactional rule by Mrs Pettigrew who is obviously her subordinate in terms of both status and role. In the next episode, probably due to the presence of Godfrey, Mrs Pettigrew uses a less dispreferred form of other-initiated repair in the form of a question signalling a problem:

> 'I remember her', said Charmian. 'She sang most expressively- in the convention of those times you know'.
>
> 'At the Gaiety?' said Mrs Pettigrew. Surely-' (p.75)

However, in another episode she again reverts to the least preferred type of repair while adding a remark about the state of Charmian's mind. This time Charmian does not tolerate having her mistake corrected and rather wittily and sacastically cast the remark back at Mrs Pettigrew:

'Good morning Eric', said Charmian

'Not Eric', said Mrs Pettigrew. 'We are a bit confused again this morning'.

'Are you my dear'. What has happened to confuse you?! said Charmian. (p.105)

In the following exchange, although Mrs Pettigrew does not make the repair herself she does appear to initiate it with her exclamation of amazement and her repetition of the problem item drawing attention to Charmian's mistakes which may be regard as being as bad as making rude remarks about them. Godfrey reacts as if to make a protest but for some unmentioned reason, probably due to his growing fear of Mrs Pettigrew, stops himself from saying anything:

'Was he killed at the front, dear?'

'Ah, me!'. said Mrs Pettigrew.

'Godfrey opened his mouth to say something to Mrs Pettigrew, then stopped. (p.106)

'Was he killed at the front?' said Charmian

'The front', said Mrs Pettigrew. (p.107)

In the following exchange, Charmian eager to gain the support of Mrs Pettigrew repeats Mrs Pettigrew's other-initiated other-repair in the manner of a small child being corrected by an adult or a pupil by a teacher:

Charmian turned to Mrs Pettigrew. 'You have been out all afternoon, haven't you, Mrs Pettigrew?'

,'Mabel, said Mrs Pettigrew'.

'Haven't you, Mabel?...' (p.131)

Mrs Pettigrew's corrections of Charmian's mistake with the use of dispreferred forms of repair can be seen as one of her tactics to assert control over the latter and a claim of superiority over the elderly woman but it will also be noted that the latter does not always submit to the corrections, one of many signals of her revolt against Mrs Pettigrew's attempts to impose control on her.

7.4.4 Contentious Pairs.

In section 7.2.4 it has been said that a basic feature of conversation is the occurrence of adjacency pairs such as rebuke-apology, command-acknowledgement, invitation-acceptance, etc. where one speaker provides the first part and the person who is being addressed provides the second part and that there is more than one option available for the second parts which may be classified as preferred or dispreferred both from a structural as well as psychological point of view. It has also been argued in section 7.2.4 that the dispreferred second parts usually express some sort of 'disagreement' with what has been stated in the first part of the adjacency pairs and that these second parts are in general marked by a variety of features that mitigate, or disguise the force of the disagreement or express reluctance of the speaker at having to use them. In Memento Mori, the frequency of occurrence in an interaction or series of interactions of a certain type of second part and the presence or absence of the features that are normally

associated with them (cf section 7.2.4) in conjunction with other aspects discussed in this chapter help us to define what type of relationship exists between the interactants, the attitudes they hold towards each other and towards the relationship itself.

In this section we shall be examining three relationships in which the choice of second parts to the first parts of adjacency pairs by the person addressed play a part in defining the relationships. The first to be considered is the Godfrey Colston-Lettie Colston relationship which has been described in Chapter 6 as a peer relationship sometimes turned conflict relationship. Examining the episodes in which they interact, we discover that none of them are free of conflicts between the brother and sister. It is claimed that conflicts are caused by and manifested in the verbal duelling they carry out with the use of what can be termed dispreferred seconds by both on a significant number of occasions. It must however, be pointed out that it has been discovered that on none of these occasions have these verbal duellings cause them to end an interaction, or stop them seeing each other.

A classic illustration of the way the brother and sister interact with each other can be seen on pages 9-12. Lettie's reply to Godfrey serves as a good example of the way she treats most of what Godfrey tells her. The latter, greatly concerned about Lettie receiving another of the anonymous calls, offers to come and fetch her and advises her to spend the night with them. However, Lettie makes

an unmitigated rejection to both the offer and the advice.

> 'I'll come and fetch you, Lettie', he said. 'You must spend the night with us'.
>
> 'Nonsense. There is no danger. It is merely a disturbance'. (p.9)

Despite Lettie's rejection of his offer, Godfrey goes and fetches Lettie and on their drive home they continue the argument. Lettie makes an unmitigated rejection using her catch word 'nonsense' to what is probably an assertion by Godfrey that she has enemies:

> 'Nonsense', said Lettie. 'I have no enemies'. (p.11)

Not satisfied with this outright rejection of his opinion, Godfrey orders her to think hard. In response to this Lettie first warns him about the traffic lights and then registers her refusal to be ordered about:

> 'The red light', said Lettie. 'And don't talk to me as if I were Charmian'. (p.11)

In return, Godfrey takes the warning as an instruction by his sister and states his refusal to be instructed using a dispreferred second as Lettie has done in her response to him:

> 'Lettie, if you please, I do not need to be told how to drive'. (p.11)

When Godfrey brakes the car violently, Lettie gives a meaningful sign which provokes Godfrey to drive even faster.

Lettie shows that she has an excellent knowledge of her brother by making a skilful remark in the form of a compliment. It has the desired result of Godfrey reducing the speed but it also prompts him to give a reply that is far from being modest, a clear case of the use of a dispreferred second:

> 'You know, Godfrey', she said, 'you are wonderful for your age'.
>
> 'So everyone says'. (p.11)

Godfrey repeats for the third time his assertion that Lettie has enemies which causes Lettie to make her habitual response. Godfrey reiterates forcefully what he has said previously at the same time accelerating the car which forces Lettie into rephrasing her answer by using a preferred second instead of the dispreferred one she has just used. The preferred answer it may be observed from the use of the downtoners 'Well' and 'perhaps' is given with some reluctance:

> 'In your position', he said, 'you must have enemies'.
>
> 'Nonsense'.
>
> 'I say <u>yes</u>'. he accelerated.
>
> 'Well perhaps, you're right'. (p.11)

Godfrey's temporary power over her causes Lettie to be slightly more submissive and as in the case of the compliment, the agreement has the desired result of Godfrey slowing down the car. In an attempt to keep Godfrey happy until

they reach the Colston house, Lettie initiates another topic to steer him away from the more controversial one. However, as soon as she discovers that she has arrived safe-ly at her destination and is beyond the control of Godfrey, Lettie's stance changes and she becomes provocative and openly expresses her disagreement with what Godfrey has said:

> 'He'll never do as well as Charmian did,' Godfrey said. 'Try as he may.'
>
> 'Well, I can't quite agree with that', said Lettie seeing that they had now pulled up in front of the house. (p.12)

Lettie's resistance to whatever Godfrey says continues in their next encounter on pages 19-20 with Lettie using dis-preferred seconds in the form of rejections to whatever Godfrey tells her:

> 'You look ill, Lettie'.
>
> 'Utter nonsense. I'm in wonderful form today. I've never felt more fit in my life'.
>
> 'I don't think you should return to Hampstead', he said.
>
> 'After tea. I've arranged to go home after tea, and after tea I'm going'. (p.19)

> 'You must not sleep alone at Hampstead,' said Godfrey. 'Call on Lisa Brooke and ask her to stop with you for a few days. The police will soon get the man'.

'Lisa Brooke be dammed', said Dame Lettie ... (p.20)

Their squabbles are not kept in check even in public places as the following exchange at Lisa Brooke's funeral will show:

'What's the matter with you Godfrey?' Lettie breathed...

'The matter with me? What do you mean what's the matter with me? What's the matter with you?'

Lettie, as she dabbed her eyes, whispered, 'Don't talk so loud. Don't glare so. Everyone's looking at you'. (p.22)

However the argument is soon forgotten only to be continued on another occasion. Another bout of disagreements between the two takes place when Godfrey visits his sister and they discuss the identity of the anonymous caller. Each openly disagrees with the other and reaffirms whatever they say:

'Well, it's damn odd. I say you must have an enemy. Sounds a common little fellow with a lisp.'

'Oh no, Godfrey, he is quite cultured. But sinister'.

'I say he's a common chap. This isn't the first time I've heard him'.

'There must be something wrong with your hearing, Godfrey. A middle-aged, cultivated

man who should know better -' A barrow boy, I should say'.

'Nonsense....' (p.100)

The same format of giving responses using dispreferred seconds to what the previous speaker has said and its counter use by that person forming a chain of disagreements continues in the next exchange when Godfrey and Lettie discuss the identity of the perpetrator of the anonymous telephone calls:

'I have,' she said. 'They tell me the lines are perfectly in order'.

'They must be crossed -'

'Oh, she said, 'you are as bad as Gwen, going on about crossed lines. I have a good idea who it is. I think it is Chief Inspector Mortimer'.

'Nothing like Mortimer's voice'.

'Or his accomplice', she said.

'Rubbish. A man in his position'.

'That is why the police don't find the culprit. They know, but they won't reveal his identity. He is their former chief'.

'I say you have an enemy'.

'I say it is Mortimer'. (p.101)

From the account given about their overt display of intolerance and non-acceptance of whatever the other says, one must expect them to terminate their relationship after one of these intermittent arguments but it does not occur and these verbal duels do not appear to have any adverse affect on their long term relationship at all.

Dispreferred seconds also figure prominently in the interactions between Mrs Anthony, the Colstons' housekeeper, and Mrs Pettigrew. The relationship begins quite amicably with Mrs Anthony offering 'fags', sympathy and gossip about the family to Mrs Pettigrew who in return relates to the former her tale of woe (cf pp.53-55). However, Mrs Anthony appears not to allow her sympathy and friendship for the latter to override her frankness, honesty and veracity and she openly expresses her opinion about who is actually entitled to inherit Lisa Brooke's fortune even though it is contrary to the other woman's views. But apparently in order to mitigate it, she states it as briefly as possible:

> '... Still, 'she said, 'a husband's a husband. By law.' (p.53)

The cordiality, however, is shortlived and the relationship deteriorates sharply the following day after Mrs Anthony aligns herself with Charmian when Mrs Pettigrew denounces the latter as being a mad woman and an argument ensues between the two. In their interaction on pages 80-81, we discover that it is made up of a chain of dispreferred seconds as one dispreferred second forms the first part to another dispreferred second. Some of these are given below:

> '... She can move about quite easily when she likes'.
>
> 'Not when she likes', said Mrs Anthony, 'but when she feels up to it ...'
>
> 'It's preposterous', said Mrs Pettigrew, 'a woman of my position being accused of attempts to poison. Why, if I was going to do that

I should go about it a very different way...'

'I bet you would', said Mrs Anthony.

'Mind out my way', she said,...

'Mind how you talk to me, Mrs Anthony'. (p.81)

Since Mrs Anthony possesses the resources to give up her job anytime she so desires, she pays scant regard to Mrs Pettigrew or her threat to report her to Godfrey. Mrs Pettigrew, after the verbal duel with Mrs Anthony chides herself for consorting with 'lower domestics' and decides 'to treat Mrs Anthony with remoteness' in future (p.82). Indeed she puts this into practice in the episode on page 122 when the telephone rings while the Colstons and Mrs Pettigrew are having their lunch and Mrs Anthony who is hard of hearing, appears only after Mrs Pettigrew has answered the call. Mrs Pettigrew rebukes her on behalf of the three rather pompously and adds that she has already answered the telephone (note the use of "we" which makes it appear that she is speaking on behalf of the others). Mrs Anthony however, makes no move to apologise. She ignores the first part of Mrs Pettigrew's utterance and replies to the second part praising her for her action. Normally it would be regarded as a preferred second but seen in the context of the ill-feeling that the interactants have for each other we can assume that she is being sarcastic. In the following episode on page 154 however, Mrs Pettigrew appears to have forgotten her resolution to treat Mrs Anthony with remoteness and tells her about what took place at the meeting of those troubled by the anonymous phone call which was held at Henry Mortimer's house. As usual the conversation ends in disagreement

provoked by the use of a dispreferred second by Mrs Anthony. It appears that the domineering and self opiniated Mrs Pettigrew is unable to influence the plain spoken and independent minded Mrs Anthony just as she has been unable to bring under her control the determined Charmian.

We have noted in section 7.4.2 in our study on turn-taking and turn control in Memento Mori that in the interactions between Godfrey and Mrs Pettigrew a correlation can be established in the number of turns taken, their frequency and length and the amount of power each has over the other. Similarly, we can establish the presence of a relationship between the type of second part of an adjacency pair each uses and the balance of power between them. In the two encounters on pages 75-77 and 105-109 we see that there is very little interaction between them, in fact there are only two exchanges. It will be noted that in both these instances, Godfrey makes use of unmitigated seconds. In the first of the two, Mrs Pettigrew herself has to use a dispreferred second but it will be seen that as a subordinate she mitigates the correction with the use of an apology (I beg your pardon, Mr Colston) and a detailed explanation:

> 'She was before my time, of course',
> said Mabel Pettigrew.
>
> 'Nonsense', said Godfrey.
>
> I beg your pardon, Mr Colston, she was
> before my time. If she retired in 1893 I
> was only a child in 1893'. (p.75)

'Tempest Sidebottome!' said Mrs Pettigrew, reaching to take the paper from his hand. 'Let me see'.

... However, he said, 'I am not finished with the paper'. (p.107)

It has been reported in Chapter 6 about the marked change in the way they interact after Mrs Pettigrew starts blackmailing Godfrey and a noticeable decline occurs in his power. Looking at the use of second parts of adjacency pairs by Godfrey, we find in Godfrey's use of dispreferred seconds at this stage some of the features that Levinson (1983) says mark a dispreferred second (cf section 7.2.4). In the first two of Godfrey's utterances given below we find that they are not spoken directly displaying his reluctance in having to utter them. In the third he is reduced to using elliptical sentences mimetic of the way a child talks when he is being scolded by an elder and it is only with the courage he gains after drinking a glass of whisky that he dares to shout at Mrs Pettigrew refusing to follow her instruction and even then he does not fully reject the proposal and only asks for the appointment to be postponed to the following week:

She said, 'Now look. This is all imagination'.

He muttered something about being in charge of his faculties.

'In that case,' she said - 'in that case, have you seen your lawyer yet?'

He muttered something about next week.

'You have an appointment with him', she said. 'This afternoon'.

'This afternoon? Who - how ...?'

'I've made an appointment for you to see him at three this afternoon'.

'Not this afternoon', said Godfrey. 'Don't feel up to it. Draughty office. Next week'. (p.121)

In their next encounter on page 132 we see Godfrey acting in a similar fashion. When he is not able to give the answer that would please Mrs Pettigrew, he even stoops to evasions, falsehood, lengthy explanations and making promises in order to appease the latter. When Mrs Pettigrew points out his mistake, he is eager to express his agreement:

'See the lawyer?' said Mrs Pettigrew.

'It's damn cold', said Godfrey.

'You saw the solicitor?'

'No, in fact, he'd been called away on an urgent case. Have to see him some other time. I say I'll see him tomorrow, Mabel'.

'Urgent case', she said. 'It was the lawyer you had an appointment with, not the doctor. You're worse than Charmian'.

'Yes, yes, Mabel, the lawyer. Don't let Mrs Anthony hear you'. (p.132)

In their next encounter as Mrs Pettigrew becomes more autocratic, we not only see a drastic reduction in the number

of turns that Godfrey takes but also in the length of turns. This is due to the fact that although his replies are preferred seconds they nevertheless are used to talk about actions that are dispreferred in the eyes of Mrs Pettigrew. In the last of Godfrey's utterances, since he has committed a serious dispreferred action. we see him making excuses which is a characteristic that marks the use of dispreferred second turns:

> 'Where have you been?'
>
> 'Buying the paper.'said Godfrey.
>
> 'Did you have to park your car here in order to walk down the road to buy the paper?'
>
> 'Wanted a walk', said Godfrey. 'Bit stiff'.
>
> 'You'll be late for your appointment. Hurry up. I told you to wait for me. Why did you go off without me?'
>
> 'I forgot', said Godfrey as he climbed into the car, 'that you wanted to come. I was in a hurry to get to the lawyer's'. (p.163)

However, Godfrey's attitude as well as his behaviour towards her undergoes a dramatic change when he learns that he is beyond the control of Mrs Pettigrew. In the last encounter between them on pages 203-204 Godfrey treats Mrs Pettigrew as if she does not exist ignoring everything she says to him and finally dismisses her from service.

7.4.5 Topics and Tactics.

In section 7.2.5 it was suggested that one basic feature of conversation is the random and unplanned way topics are selected and the constant shift from one topic to another. It has also been noted in section 7.2.5 that in general, in a conversation, what topics are raised, how much time is devoted to each, and the order in which they occur are not predetermined but negotiated by the participants during the course of the conversation. In addition, it has been poin -ted out that in a power-sensitive encounter it is the superordinate who usually takes the initiative with regards to topic initiation, change, order etc., with the acquies-cence of the subordinate. But as we shall see in our study of some character interactions in Memento Mori, occasionally it may be the subordinate who takes the initiative usually for some tactical purpose. Obviously, the subordinate will have to do it in as subtle and tactful a manner as pos-sible if he is to succeed and not be considered as carrying out an act of manipulation by the superordinate.

In Memento Mori, we can detect some interesting ways topic has been exploited for strategic reasons. The most common of these is the use of topic shift where one speaker chooses not to talk on the topic that the preceding speaker has been concentrating on but initiatesa new one that may sometimes be totally unrelated to the previous topic. The motivated use of topic shift by the characters may be grouped into two categories depending on the reason for employing it. The first which may be termed conflict avoidance is the

initiation of a new topic by a character to create a diversion in order to deflate a tense or conflict situation such as an argument, the expression of disapproval, rebuke or criticism, etc.

As will be seen by the character exchanges given below, the characters that make use of this tactic are usually restric-ted to those who are subordinates in a power-sensitive encounter and apparently see topic shift as a subtle means of extricating themselves from difficult situations:

> 'Taylor ...' he repeated, 'St Mark's ... Don't you realize there is no maid in this room, and furthermore, you are not in Venice?'
>
> 'Come and get warm by the fire', she said, 'and take your coat off';... (p.10)

> 'Lettie, if you please, I do not need to be told how to drive. I observed the lights'. He had braked hard, and Dame Lettie was jerked forward.
>
> She gave a meaningful sigh which, when the green lights came on, made him drive all the faster.
>
> 'You know, Godfrey', she said,'you are wonderful for your age.'
>
> 'So everyone says'. His driving pace became moderate; her sigh of relief was inaudible, her patting herself on the back, invisible. (p.11)

'In your position', he said, 'you must have enemies'.

'Nonsense'.

'I say yes'. He accelerated.

'Well, perhaps you're right'. He slowed down again, but Dame Lettie thought, I wish I hadn't come.

They were at Knightsbridge. It was only a matter of keeping him happy till they reached Kensington Church Street...

'I have written to Eric', she said, 'about his book...' (p.11)

'Oh, your phone call, is that all you have to think about? I ask you, Godfrey, is that all...?'

He huddled in his chair. 'Damn cold,' he said. Have we got any whisky there?' (p.133)

In the first exchange, Charmian chooses not to comment on Godfrey's rebuke and instead initiates a new topic which appears to have the desired effect of distracting the latter and ending his upbraiding. In the exchange between Godfrey and Lettie, although the latter appears to be quite transparent about her aim by initiating a topic that is neither related to the verbal nor the non-verbal context, she succeeds in creating a diversion as the topic she has raised quite cleverly is dear to Godfrey's heart. Lettie again employs the same tactic and initiates a less controversial topic in order to bring the argument to an end and keep

Godfrey happy so that he will not drive so recklessly. The latter himself employs the same technique when faced with Mrs Pettigrew's diatribe by endeavoring to distract her by commenting on the cold and requesting a drink. It is unclear whether he has tried to use the same strategy at the beginning of the encounter on page 132 when Mrs Pettigrew asks him whether he has seen the lawyer but Mrs Pettigrew evidently takes it to be so and Godfrey appears to have failed in his attempt since the latter insists on him answering the question by repeating it the second time.

As in the following exchange between Charmian and Mrs Pettigrew another use of topic shift is as a polite way of indicating the unwillingness of a person to continue discoursing on a certain topic. In the case of the superordinate this may succeed but as we see in the exchange between the two women when the power positions are not very clearly defined it may not succeed if the other participant insists on continuing with it, unless she/he can risk having a conflict.

> 'You're more of a hindrance to Godfrey here than you would be in a nursing home. It's ridiculous to say he needs you'.
>
> 'I shall not go', said Charmian. 'Now I think I must have my nap. What is the time?'
>
> 'I came', said Mrs Pettigrew, 'to tell you about Mrs Anthony. She can't do the cooking any more, we shall all have stomach trouble...' (pp.159-160)

Although at the beginning Mrs Pettigrew appears to have initiated a new topic i.e. about Mrs Anthony's cooking later on it becomes apparent that it is connected with the issue of Charmian leaving the house.

A topic may be sometimes initiated with the motive of 'playing a game' with the addressee with or without the intention of influencing him/her. In the first of the following three excerpts from the text, Godfrey deliberately reads out the obituary notices in order to annoy Lettie. In the second exchange the doctor raises the topic of wills with Granny Barnacle as a means of humouring her and keeping her happy. In the third, Granny Barnacle asks the nurses how to spell words like 'hundred' and 'ermine' which in her view is to subtly inform them about her resources. It will be noted that she sends out for a will-form about once a week:

> 'Are there lots of obituaries today?' said Charmian.
>
> 'Oh, don't be gruesome', said Lettie.
>
> 'Would you like me to read you the obituaries, dear?' Godfrey said, turning the pages to find the place in defiance of his sister. (p.13)

> The doctor on his rounds would say, 'Well Granny Barnacle, am I to be remembered or not?'
>
> 'You're down for a thousand, Doc'.
>
> 'My word, I must stick in with you, Granny. I'll bet you've got a long stocking, my girl?' (p.16)

> Tough Granny Barnacle, she who had sold the evening paper for forty-eight years at Holborn circus, and who always said, 'Actions speak louder than words', would send out to Woolworth's for a will-form about once a week; this would occupy her for two or three days. She would ask the nurse how to spell words like 'hundred' and 'ermine'.
>
> 'Goin' to leave me a hundred quid Granny?' said the nurse. Goin' to leave me your ermine cape?' (p.16)

In a conversation the type of topic a participant may raise with another is to a large extent dependent on the type of relationship that exists between them (cf section 7.3). The change that has taken place in Godfrey's relationship with Mrs Pettigrew can be clearly observed by the kinds of topic he allows her to raise in the following exchange. It is quite obvious that she is no longer a subordinate to Godfrey:

> 'Who was that on the telephone, Godfrey?' she said.
>
> 'A man... I can't understand. It should have been for Lettie but he definitely said it was for me. I thought the message -'
>
> 'What did he say?'
>
> 'That thing he says to Lettie. But he said, "Mr Colston, it's for you, Mr Colston", I don't understand...' (p.120)

In the above exchange we find that Mrs Pettigrew has been able to ask Godfrey questions about such a personal matter as who was telephoning him as well as the content of the message. It will be remembered that the above exchange occurs after Mrs Pettigrew has started blackmailing him and the extent of the power she now has over him is not only reflected in the questions that she asks but also in his willingness to answer them without making any attempt to rebuff her for her intrusion on his privacy.

NOTES:

1. Next turn repair initiator.

2. Topic is here used in the sense of discourse topic and not sentential topic.

3. cf Brown and Yule's (1983: 71) and Levinson's (1983: 312-313) discussions of the definition.

4. Keenan and Schieffelin (1975: 340) define discourse as "any sequence of two or more utterances produced by a single speaker or by two or more speakers who are interacting with one another (at some point in time and space)."

5. Money, status, authority, knowledge, equipment, sex, strength, skills, and so on... (p.158).

6. In this connection Thomas (1985b: 765-766) also expresses dissatisfaction over Levinson's stand regarding the categories dealt with in conversation analysis: 'Much of what conversational analysis presents as purely structural configurations (adjacency pairs, insertion sequences, etc) could be explained more powerfully in terms of goal-orientation and the observance of Gricean maxims and principles of 'interpersonal pragmatics' (as described by Leech (1983)). In passing I would add that it does strike me as quite extraordinary that Levinson fails to make the point himself in what is after all the final chapter of a book on pragmatics'.

7. Leech (1983: 10) sees Socio-pragmatics as the study of 'local conditions of language' as opposed to General Pragmatics 'the study of the general conditions of the communicative use of language'.

8. Leech (1983: 141) calls this type of sentence 'indirect asking'. he says that the implicature of such a sentence is that the speaker does not feel that he has the right to ask a question, and he thus 'expresses interest in knowing the answer to the question in a manner which suggests that it is no part of h's responsibility to provide it'. This form is used by Mrs Pettigrew probably to show that she is aware of the fact that she is attempting to initiate a conversation with a superordinate.

9. In the above incident, Charmian, who is suffering from neurasthenia and is easily confused, probably tolerated Mrs Pettigrew's behaviour without any attempt to defend her status as a superordinate as a result of becoming conditioned to such treatment at the hands of Godfrey and Lettie.

CHAPTER 8.

'Not Eric'. said Mrs Pettigrew. 'We are a bit confused again this morning'. 'Are you my dear? What has happened to confuse you?' said Charmian. - How They Do Things With Words In Memento Mori.

8.0 OUTLINE.

The main objective of this chapter is to examine certain linguistic features in character interactions which are thought to be marked for power and see in what way these features have been employed in delineating, maintaining and changing power status in the relationship concerned. The linguistic features selected to form the basis of the analysis of character interactions are as follows:

(i) Terms of address and terms of reference

(ii) Speech-Acts

(iii) Selective register features and discourse types

The three linguistic features have been chosen to form the foundation of the investigation due to the fact that among the various linguistic features they are generally regarded as being the most marked for interpersonal meaning.

Each area of study consists of three parts. The first deals with the theoretical background regarding the linguistic feature concerned. The second part relates it to the concept of power. The third part examines selective character interactions using what has been discussed in the first two parts as a framework for the analysis to see in

what way the feature concerned has been employed to secure the discourse goals of the character concerned.

8.1 Introduction.

In the previous chapter we examined character interactions that are marked for power and control from the perspective of conversation structure. In this chapter we focus on the different ways three linguistic features viz terms of address and terms of reference , speech-acts and register features are employed by characters in power-sensitive interactions in order to achieve their goals with regards to power and control. The three features have been earmarked for study based on the evidence drawn from a number of research in the area, ie Fowler (1985); Brown and Ford (1961); Conley et al (1978); Ervin-Tripp (1972); Allwood (1980); Halliday (1985); Goody (1978); Fraser and Nolan (1981); Thomas (1985b). They show that a great deal of the interpersonal meaning in the utterance, especially those related to the dimension of power, is conveyed by these three features. Decisions regarding which elements to choose from among those available in the system of each feature is to a large extent dependent on the types of social relationship that exist among the interlocutors.

The first of the three features, the English address system, consists of a multiplicity of terms and the selection of a term of address is related to dimensions such as relative power status of the interlocutors, frequency of contact, and the affect it is intended to convey. A similar connection can be established between the type of speech-acts employed and the type of modification made to a speech-act, especially in the case of those acts that are marked for either

+ power or - power and the social relationship obtaining between the two parties. In the same way, in using register features such as style of discourse where a continuum extends from colloquial to polite, interlocutors decide which style to adopt partly on the basis of the social role they assume in the interaction and the psychological role and attitude(s) they wish to project, such as neutrality, equality, sympathy, antipathy etc. For example strangers tend to employ a polite style of discourse when interacting with each other just as subordinates do when conversing with their superiors. A person may also adopt an extremely polite style to show the antipathy he/she feels towards the addressee.

The interrelated nature of different linguistic features is demonstrated extremely well by the illustration Ervin-Tripp (1972: 233) gives in her discussion of co-occurence rules:

> "How's it going, Your Eminence? Certrifuging OK? Also have you been analysin' whatch 'unnertook t' achieve?"

Ervin-Tripp comments that the bizarreness of this hypothetical episode is the result of 'the oscillations between different varieties of speech' (ibid). From the point of view of the three linguistic features we are focusing on in this chapter, the address form 'Your Eminence' denoting the addressee to be a high ranking clergyman, the extremely colloquial style adopted by the speaker and the speech act employed (asking a question of a personal nature) all add up to the incongruity.

In the description of the three features as well as in the analysis of the character interactions, each feature is treated in isolation. This has been done for convenience and clarity in description rather than as a denial of the interrated nature of these features. In assigning value to the use of an element of a particular feature, although it may not be always mentioned, decisions are always taken after due consideration of the way other features are used in the context. The different sections on different features are thus meant to be complementary to each rather than to be seen as isolated descriptions.

8.2 'Oh, do call me Mabel and be friendly'. Patterns of Address in Memento Mori.

8.2.1 Introduction.

The number of terms of address available varies from language to language but gauging from the research that has been carried out in this area (Brown and Ford (1961); Evans-Pritchard (1964); Adler (1978); Ervin-Tripp (1969); Mar-Lay (1977); Hudson (1980)) there are few languages which do not possess a multipicity of terms of address and in this regard English is no exception. Brown and Ford (1961) in their pioneering work on terms of address in American English using a corpus of thirty-eight American plays performed since 1939 which were compared with reported usage of business executives and observed usage in a Boston business firm, discovered five types of address. These are : Title(T) (eg. sir, madam, miss); Title Last Name (TLN) (eg. Dr. Smith, Father Brown); Last Name (LN) (eg. Green); First Name (FN) (Brown and Ford (ibid) include full name (eg. Robert), familiar abbreviations (eg. Bob) and diminuitive forms (eg. Bobbie)in this category); Multiple Naming (MN) (eg. One of Brown and Ford's informers reported of the following usage: using Williams or Robert or Bob or Willie for Robert Williams).

Selection from among the available terms is dependent on the social roles of the dyad which Lyons (1977: 575) defines as "culture specific functions, institutionalized in a society and recognized by its members". The importance of making the correct choice of terms of address needs hardly be stressed as Lyons (ibid) points out, a speaker must control

the set of terms of address if he/she is to produce utterances appropriate to various situations. For a better understanding of how these terms are chosen by the interactants, we will need to take a look at the patterns of address.

8.2.2 Patterns of Address.

Two main patterns of address can be distinguished in English, namely reciprocal and non-reciprocal use of a term of address.

By reciprocal use is meant the employment of the same term by the dyad to address each other. Let us first examine the use of T in this manner. Brown and Ford (1961) note that T is used reciprocally between new acquaintances in situations where the acquaintance is so slight that the last name is unknown. Compared to the use of mutual TLN, reciprocal T is a degree more deferential and a degree less intimate.

With regard to reciprocal use of TLN, Brown and Ford (ibid) say it is most commonly found between newly introduced adults. However, they admit that the distinction between the more intimate term FN and TLN is mainly one of degree of acquaintance with the period necessary less for younger people than for older people and less when the interactants are of the same sex than when they are not. Robinson (1972) points out that among present day young people in England, FN can be immediate to the extent that LN may remain unknown. In general the distinction between TLN and

FN may be said to be the following: Mutual FN marks equality and familiarity, TLN marks equality but unfamiliarity (Robinson, 1972: 123). However, the gap seems to be narrowing. According to Brown and Ford in modern American English, the distance between the two points may be so minuscule that within five minutes of conversation the dyads may be exchanging FN. Hook (1984) supports this when he says that nowadays there is a greater use of FN than before. He gives the following general rules of use of FN in the United States following Lakoff (1977):

> One may readily use FN with everybody except: with an adult (if one is an unrelated child); with an old adult (if one is markedly younger); with a teacher (if one is a student); with a clergyman or religious (particularly Roman Catholic or Orthodox); with a physician. If one is a mature adult one may use FN with everybody except: a markedly older person; a clergyman; a physician. If one is an elderly person, one may use FN with everybody except: a clergyman; a physician. If one is a physician, one may use FN with everyone.[1] (1984: 186).

On the other hand the use of mutual LN does not seem to be as widespread as the use of mutual FN. Ervin-Tripp (1969) reports that in upper class boarding schools in England, boys and some girls use LN instead of FN and that this usage is carried over to some universities and other milieux affected by the public school usage.[2] In this case solidarity address between male acquaintances and colleagues is LN rather than

FN. Women however do not use LN. Another organization where such usage prevails is the armed forces. Brown and Ford (1961) say that LN is the norm among enlisted men until they become well acquainted.

With regard to the use of reciprocal MN (the co-occurrence of TLN, LN, FN and nicknames) Robinson (1972) suggests that it is a favourite device of very intimate relationships particularly that of husband and wife. In this connection the experiment conducted by Brown and Ford confirms that MN represents a greater degree of intimacy than the use of FN.

We now turn to the non-reciprocal use of terms of address. The asymmetrical use of TLN illustrates this pattern extremely well. In this pattern one member of the dyad uses FN and in return receives TLN from the other. Brown and Ford (1961) say this pattern is generated by two kinds of relationships. The first is related to differences in age: children address adult using TLN and in return receive FN; among adults, addressees of 15-or-more years senior receive TLN in return juniors are addressed by FN.

The second kind of relationship that generates this pattern is inequality in occupational status. Brown and Ford (ibid) list three types of such a relationship:

1) a relation of dominant and enduring subordination (eg. master-servant, employer-employee, officer-enlisted man);

2) a relation of direct but temporary subordination involving someone in a service occuption (eg waiter/blackboot and customer);

3) enduring status that does not involve direct subordination (eg. United States senator and fireman). (All examples from Brown and Ford (ibid)).

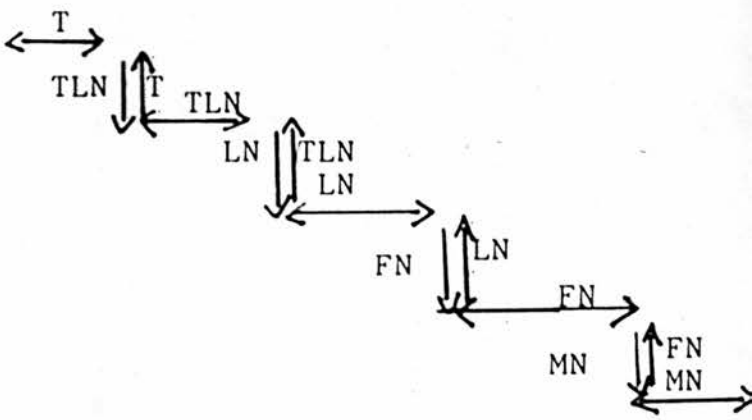
Brown and Ford (ibid) point out that even when the person of lower occupation status is the elder, address is in accordance with occupational status. (eg. adolescent girl and middle-aged family cook; army ensign and middle-aged enlisted man; young executive and elderly janitor).

The asymmetrical use of LN to address a person who is either a subordinate or in one's charge is reported by Robinson (1972) to be fairly common in formal organizations[3]. This he suggests may be due to the necessity to make frequent choices for two-person interactions in the presence of a large number of persons with similar FNs as potential candidates or the need to make unambiguous references with speed. The context of school is the example that Robinson (ibid) gives. Form masters and especially headmasters tend to address the male pupils by their LN. On the other hand girls are never addressed by LN. This is probably due to it being a stigma for women to be addressed by their LN alone, as Leech and Short (1981) point out. It must however, be noted that at one time female menials were addressed by their LN by their employers. Women prisoners and defendants in courts of law are addressed (and referred to) by LN.

8.2.3 Progression in Time of Terms of Address.

The interaction between a dyad may be of a very brief duration as when one person stops another in the street to ask for directions or it may be of extended duration as in the relationship between an employer and an employee. In the latter case, there is a distinct possibility that a change may occur in the way members of the dyad address each other with the increase in contact. The following is a diagram of the model of the progression of address in time that Brown and Ford (1961: 382) propose:

Figure 8. Progression of Address in Time.



T-TITLE

TLN-TITLE PLUS LAST NAME

LN- LAST NAME

FN-FIRST NAME

MN-MULTIPLE NAMES

The progression is from left to right. Horizontal links are reciprocated forms with solidarity increasing when the movement is from left to right. The vertical links are unreciprocated forms showing unequal power. To illustrate the way address may progress in time, Brown and Ford (ibid) give the example of a prospective graduate student and the chairman of a faculty. At the first meeting the two will most likely exchange TLN with the chairman addressing the student by FN shortly after enrolment. The student however, continues to address the chairman by TLN for several

years, the asymmetrical use of TLN/FN expressing the inequality in status. They suggest that if the chairman is not too old or too august, the student will eventually feel able to address the chairman by first name[4]. Brown and Ford, however qualify the illustration by pointing out that not every dyad passes through these stages or starts at the same point. For example, adults of equal status start with TLN; master and servant with non-reciprocity; young people with mutual FN. Moreover, not every interaction that continues to function necessarily go on to FN or MN. The most important point to note about changes in address forms in asymmetrical relationships is that the person who initiates any changes is always the person of higher status. In addition, if the person of higher status takes the view that the person of lower status seems to move too fast to the reciprocation of FN, he may step back from his/her use of FN to TLN. Even in cases of dyads of equal status, reversals can recur, for instance as Robinson (1972) suggests, when one member wishes to signal to the other that the relationship has become more intimate than he/she desires.

8.2.4 Power, Contact, Affect and Terms of Address.

From the preceeding sections, some idea may be gained of what governs choice of terms from the address network. It will be noted that Brown and Ford (1961) relate the choices to the dimensions of power and solidarity. Robinson (1972) however, argues for the need to distinguish intimacy from solidarity to reflect the differences in the relationships which is manifested in the choice of terms as well as the

extent that changes in address may proceed: in the case of relationship based on solidarity, the interlocutors may stop at LN or FN while in the former case there is the likelihood that it may proceed to MN. Seen in this light the perspective that Poynton (1986) adopts seems to be more satisfactory than that of Brown and Ford (ibid). In a systemic study of names as vocatives and its forms and functions, Poynton (ibid) relates choice of address to not two but three dimensions viz power, contact and affect. By bringing in the new dimensions as well as adopting a systemic approach with its scales of delicacies, she is able to give a more complete picture of how choices are made and when necessary, to make finer distinctions such as the one Robinson (1972) indicates.

Poynton's (ibid) power dimension covers both Brown and Ford's power and solidarity dimensions. The reciprocal choices they attribute to solidarity she relates to equal power and the non-reciprocal choices they ascribe to power she imputes to unequal power between interlocutors. The contact dimension takes into account such factors as frequency, extent, role diversification and orientation. Of special interest are the latter two. There are two possible choices in role diversification namely multiplex and uniplex. A multiplex type of interaction (eg. friend + classmate + neighbour) usually leads to greater intimacy and encourages the use of MN while a uniplex type (eg. colleague) may limit the frequency as well as the extent of the interaction and hence the progression of change in address. Orientation consists of two choices viz task-oriented and role-oriented.

They are important factors in deciding whether an interaction is solidarity based or intimacy based and as in the case of role diversification, the choice of address and how far the change in address should progress, are governed by them to a certain extent. What Robinson (1972: 126) says in this connection is worth noting: "While the groups whose cohesiveness is constrained by an external goal (or threat) may stop at LN or FN (or nicknaming), the pairing of personal intimacy are perhaps more likely to proceed to MN..." The dimension of contact is important for interlocutors since it is a deciding factor in whether to characterize the interaction as formal or informal, intimate or familiar or distant thus guiding them in the selection of the appropriate term.

Affect, the third dimension, Poynton (ibid) suggests, underlies the expression of emotion and attitude. There are two choices available: marked and unmarked. The latter can be either marked for negative or positive attitude. For instance the use of nicknames acceptable to the addressee may be said to display a marked positive attitude. However, sometimes, the attitude may be more subtly expressed. For example, despite being addressed by FN by the other member of the dyad and despite possessing the right to reciprocate, the speaker may choose not to do so and stick to his/her use of TLN which in this context becomes marked and is used covertly to express the negative attitude the speaker has towards the addressee. However, Poynton (ibid) mentions that not all interlocutors are able to use terms of address marked for attitude, especially negative attitude, so

freely. In the case of a subordinate in an unequal power relationship, he/she is usually unwilling to express his/her attitudes for obvious reasons and hence unmarked rather than marked terms of address are more likely to occur in such contexts while increase in contact makes affect (marked: positive) so common that it becomes unmarked co-selec-tion. The dimension of affect is also relevant in the choice of terms of reference which will be dealt with in the following section.

8.2.5 Terms of Reference.

Apart from functioning as terms of address, names also function as terms of reference. Since we normally refer to a person in the same way as we address him/her, in general, the same rules apply to both address and reference. However, one point to note is, as Hook (1984) points out in one of his end notes[1] although the rules of both address and reference are not dissimilar, there is a greater freedom of usage regarding the latter if the referent is not present in the setting. On the other hand, choice in terms of reference is made slightly more complicated by the fact that there are not two parties involved as in the case of address but three parties - the speaker(S), the referent(R) and the addressee(A). Thus in making use of any terms of reference, S may, depending on the importance of it, take into consideration whether A knows R and if A does, what kind of a relation it is and what A's attitude towards R is.

The following notes have been tentatively proposed regarding the selection of terms of reference that takes into account

the involvement of three parties in the process:

1) S may use the term of reference A normally uses

or

If A does not know R at all or not too well, S may use a term that will help A in the identification of R such as using three terms or two terms together: T+FN+LN, FN+LN.

2) S may simply use the term that S normally uses in addressing R without giving any consideration to A

3) S may use the term that neither S nor A normally uses to address R

4) S may use a term that S does not normally use, with the intention of impressing/misleading etc A regarding his/her relationship with R by upgrading or downgrading it to make A think that S is more/less/as powerful than/as R; more/less intimate than they actually are, etc. (eg. the tactic of name dropping)

5) S may use a term that is marked for either negative or positive attitude, to express own attitude or to express solidarity with A against R or to express support of A's solidarity with R, etc.

eg. a) Use of third person pronouns as first mentions with appropriate gestures to identify referent.

b) Use of deitic that + common noun (eg. man woman, bitch, dog, creature, etc).

c) Use of derogatory nicknames, etc.

Naming in both its addressing as well as referential functions is extremely transparent with regard to how S sees himself/herself in relation to A or F and it is therefore important to recognise the signals it emits in order to adjust or make any negotiations necessary for a co-operative interaction.

8.3 Interpersonal Power and Choice of Terms of Address in Memento Mori.

8.3.1 Introduction.

The way terms of address operate in asymmetrical relations is well illustrated by the central character interactions in Memento Mori. Notable in this respect are three relationships: Charmian Colston - Mabel Pettigrew relationship, Godfrey Colston - Mabel Pettigrew relationship and the relationship between the inmates of Maud Long Ward and doctors and staff. In all these asymmetrical relationships, terms of address are employed as devices in consolidating power, delineating roles, expressing submission, marking attitudes or expressing resistance to attempts to exercise power. In the Charmian Colston - Mabel Pettigrew interactions, one of the important features is the latter's attempts, using different methods, to make the former adopt a certain form of address when interacting with her as part of her strategy to gain control over the older woman. In the second, the interactions between Godfrey Colston and Mrs Pettigrew, we see how a shift in power is followed by a shift in address form. In the interactions between the 'grannies' of Maud Long Ward and the doctor and staff, form of address is a bone of contention and it plays a leading role in expressing attitude, delineating roles and acting as a control device.

In the following sections the three relationships mentioned above will be studied in some detail to investigate the way terms of address function in these asymmetrical relationships.

To shed further light on this aspect, where relevant, reference will be made to other relationships such as Mrs Pettigrew - Mrs Anthony relationship and Charmian and Godfrey - Mrs Anthony relationship.

It must be pointed out that the temporal setting of Memento Mori is essentially the first half of the twentieth century when people were more formal in their interactions, especially with people of other classes, and the formality includes the area of choice of terms of address.

8.3.2 Defending Power Status: Charmian Colston - Mabel Pettigrew Relationship

Of the three relationships, the Charmian Colston - Mabel Pettigrew relationship appears to be the most interesting from the view point of terms of address. Terms of address play a significant role in Charmian's attempt to preserve her power status and Mrs Pettigrew's attempt to tilt the balance of power in her favour. Judging from the interaction on page 55-56 which takes place some three weeks after Mrs Pettigrew joins the Colston household to take care of Charmian, at the initial stage of the relationship, Mrs Pettigrew appears to obey the rules of asymmetrical relations with regards to terms of address since she addresses her employer by TLN:

> 'Oh, Mrs Colston, I was just wondering if you were tired'. (p.55)

However, this mask of subserviance is discarded very soon afterwards not only in the way she treats and speaks to Charmian but also with regards to address form. When Charmian addresses her by TLN as employers normally do when they wish

to be on more formal terms with their employees[5]. Mrs Pettigrew attempts to alter this by asking her to address her by FN in a not too polite manner with the use of the imperative:

> '... I think, Mrs Pettigrew -'
> 'Oh, do call me Mabel and be friendly'. (p.64)

It was mentioned in section 8.2.3. in connection with the use of FN that (a) mutual FN marks equality and familiarity; (b) in asymmetrical relationships based on inequality in occupational status, the superior may use FN to address the subordinate while the latter addresses the former by TLN and (c) in asymmetrical relationships when changes are made in address form, it is usually the person of higher status who initiates such changes and not the subordinate. In this case Mrs Pettigrew is clearly breaking rule (c) since by definition she is the subordinate in the relation, even though she might think otherwise, and has no right to initiate any changes and Charmian therefore has no obligations to follow it. By asking Charmian to address her by FN as a sign of friendliness she is obviously thinking of (a) above as a means of securing recognition to her claim of equal if not superior status to the old woman. Since, as will be seen from the latter episodes, she has stopped addressing Charmian by TLN, (in fact she does not address her by any term at all until p.145 when she addresses Charmian by FN of appendix A) it may well be assumed that she does not have (b) in mind at all. On the other hand, by totally ignoring Mrs Pettigrew's 'dispensation' and

carrying on with what she has been saying using the same address form TLN, Charmian seems to be implying that it is beneath her to give it any notice:

> 'I think, Mrs Pettigrew, it will not be necessary for you to come into the drawing-room when I have visitors'. (p.64)

In the following episode (p.75-86), Mrs Pettigrew is more restrained in her manner as well as speech when talking to Charmian limiting herself to the occasional address term 'dear':

> 'No', said Mrs Pettigrew, 'you are mistaken, dear. Take your pills'. (p.75)

> 'Take your pills, dear'. (p.75)

However, she again attempts to make Charmian address her by FN. On this occasion she chooses a time when Charmian is more open to influence, when greatly distressed by the news of the death of a friend, Tempest Sidebottome, she tells Mrs Pettigrew about their childhood days:

> '... as was my uncle, Mrs Pettigrew -' (p.108)

> 'Oh, do call me Mabel', said Mrs Pettigrew winking at Godfrey. (p.108)

In her distress, Charmian allows herself to be manipulated into addressing Mrs Pettigrew by FN:

> 'Her uncle, Mabel, said Charmian, was a rector...' (p.108)

But in the same utterance she reverts back to TLN possibly as a result of resistance at the subconscious level:

'We had not a great deal in common, Mrs Pettigrew ...' (p.108)

In the meantime, Mrs Pettigrew continues to speak to Charmian without using any terms of address. Although this is characteristic of the practice of interlocutors in the transition period of changing from one term to another, in certain contexts as when there is more than one person present and there is a need to make precise to whom the utterance is being addressed, the adoption of zero term of address makes an utterance sound impolite as in the following case:

She came back presently and addressed Charmian,

'For you', she said. 'The photographer wants to come tomorrow at four'. (p.122)

In the next encounter (pp131-2) for the third time, Mrs Pettigrew tries to impose on Charmian the use of FN when addressing her when Charmian desperate for her support in convincing Godfrey that she prepared herown tea while the former was away asks Mrs Pettigrew to confirm it:

'You have been out all afternoon, haven't you Mrs Pettigrew?'

'Mabel' (p.131)

Anxious to receive her support, Charmian uses the FN imposed on her without a word of protest:

'Haven't you, Mabel?' (p.131)

Although Charmian addresses Mrs Pettigrew by FN as directed, in a later encounter she reverts back to TLN:

'Oh, its you, Mrs Pettigrew'. (p.155)

In the final showdown between Charmian and Mrs Pettigrew on pages 155-58, the old woman now fully recovered both mentally and physically, seems to have stabilized her power status and regained her assertiveness and up to the last moment of the interaction when the latter threatens to poison her, she appears to be in control of the situation. This is reflected in not only the way she manages and speaks to the latter but, it is also seen in her choice of terms of address. She addresses Mrs Pettigrew by FN of her own accord without the latter's prompting. Judging from the context and the content of the utterance it appears that Charmian is using FN as one does in asymmetrical relations in addressing a person of lower rank rather than as it is used in equal and familiar relationships:

'I didn't hear you knock, Mabel'. (p.156)

'Sit down, Mabel ...' (p.156)

'Have you had asthma before, Mabel?' (p.158)

'You have great courage, Mabel'. (p.158)

In the study of Charmian Colston - Mabel Pettigrew interaction, we have seen how terms of address, especially the

use of FN have been a major issue in Charmian's efforts to maintain her power status and Mrs Pettigrew's attempts in destablising the former. In the next section we will see how change in power structure causes change in terms of address.

8.3.3 Altering Power Status: Godfrey Colston - Mabel Pettigrew Relationship.

As is usual at the beginning of any asymmetrical relationships, the subordinate in the interaction, Mrs Pettigrew, addresses Godfrey Colston, her employer, by TLN when she first joins the household roughly in the autumn of that year:

> 'I beg your pardon, Mr Colston, she was before my time ...' (p.75)

However, by spring of the following year, Mabel Pettigrew is already addressing Godfrey by FN:

> 'Who was that on the phone, Godfrey?' (p.120)

A transition from TLN to FN in addressing the person of higher status is not uncommon in asymmetrical relationships since such changes sometimes occur with the passing of time but it must be remembered that it can only take place when the person of higher status initiates it (cf 8.2.3). How or when the transition is achieved is not mentioned in the text. However, gauging from Godfrey's interaction with Mrs Anthony who has been their housekeeper for nine years (p.81) and yet only exchanges mutual TLN with her (cf Appendix A) and from the way he refers to Jean Taylor, who was Charmian's

maid and companion before her marriage to Godfrey until she left the household to enter hospital, by her last name, we can assume that Godfrey is not in the habit of exchanging mutual FN with domestics. Moreover, judging from the way Mrs Pettigrew attempts to initiate change of address in her interaction with Charmian discussed in the previous section, it will not be wrong to conclude that the change may have occurred at the woman's initiative. Why this change occurs and is accepted by Godfrey without any resistance as in the case of Charmian is as interesting as how it is achieved. Mrs Pettigrew's use of FN in addressing Godfrey first makes its appearance about the time she begins to blackmail him after getting hold of his private papers and discovering his secrets. The change in address form thus occurs at about the same time as the decline in Godfrey's power in relation to Mrs Pettigrew and this may be regarded as the main reason why a person like Godfrey who is extremely argumentative and has the habit of imposing his opinions on others, quietly accepts being addressed by FN by a subordinate without his expressed wishes. Very soon afterwards with increasing erosion of his power, Godfrey himself begins to address Mrs Pettigrew by FN:

'I say I'll see him tomorrow, Mabel'. (p.132)

'Yes, yes, Mabel, the lawyer.
'Don't let Mrs Anthony her you'. (p.132)

Although Mrs Pettigrew goes on to address Godfrey by FN until the final episode, from the way Godfrey refers to Mrs Pettigrew in his conversation with Charmian - by TLN and a

rather uncomplimentary term - soon after freeing himself from the latter's control and his use of zero address form in the last episode, indications are that with the debacle of Mrs Pettigrew's power, he is not likely to continue to address the woman by FN:

> 'I'm getting rid of Mrs Pettigrew'.
> he said, 'A most domineering bitch'. (p.203)
>
> 'And you leave tomorrow morning',
> he said to her. (p.204)

From the above interaction as well as from the one in the previous section, it can be seen how much importance Mrs Pettigrew attaches to the use of FN in her power attempts on her employers as though she sees it as one of the trappings of power.

8.3.4 Defining Power Status: Inmates of Maud Long Ward - Doctor/Staff Relationship.

From the point of view of address, the main feature of this asymmetrical relationship is the imposition of certain terms of address on the subordinate by the superordinate without giving much consideration to the reaction of the former. Even when resistance occurs, the power difference is sufficiently wide enough for the superordinate to ignore it without peril. This is particularly true of the use of the term Granny as a term of address in the interactions.

Those elderly women who become patients in the Maud Long Medical Ward (aged people, female) are made aware of their new environment as soon as they are admitted to the ward;

amongst other things, by the way they are addressed. The narrator mentions that they would feel "shocked and feel let down" (p.15) by being addressed as Granny and indeed some of them feel quite humiliated by being so called:

> A year ago, when Miss Taylor had been admitted to the ward, she had suffered misery when addressed as Granny Taylor, and she thought she would rather die in a ditch than be kept alive under such conditions. (p.16)

This is quite understandable since the term has a variety of connotations not all of which are complimentary. The use of this term is usually restricted to addressing one's grandmothers[6] and outside this usage, it has negative connotations, especially to those who are age conscious. It evokes all the implications of old age viz helplessness, uselessness, dependency, powerlessness, ill health, physical and mental deterioration, impending death, etc. In addition as an address term being used by people with whom one has just initiated a relationship, it also has the tone of "lacerating familiarity" to quote the thoughts of one of the grannies, Jean Taylor, the most discerning of the elderly women. For one of the grannies, 'Miss or Mrs' Reeves-Duncan (note the hyphen in the name) who apparently feels she is superior to the staff, this over-familiarity on the part of the ward staff is resonant of disrespect and is therefore to be resisted:

> Miss or Mrs Reeves-Duncan threatened for a whole week to report anyone who called

her Granny Duncan. She threatened to cut them out of her will and to write to her M.P. (p.15)

However, despite all the protests, the doctor and staff continue to address them in the same fashion and the old women learn to accept it and even begin to use the term in addressing and referring to each other.

On the part of the doctor and nurses, this term may have been selected as much for its connotations of familiarity and friendliness as for its underlying sense of powerlessness.[7] The latter connotation becomes more prominent when the term is used in combination with the LN of the granny concerned:

'You'll be better now, Granny Taylor! (p.17)

'Well, Granny Duncan, what's the matter ...' (p.46)

'Lie still, Granny Barnacle...' (p.113)

The above combination is commonly employed in some families to differentiate between paternal and maternal grandmothers but it must be noted that in such cases it is used more often as a term of reference than as a term of address. In the text, the term Granny seems to function in the same manner as the titles Miss and Mrs. While the former marks the person as unmarried female and the latter as married female, the term Granny marks the person unflatteringly as aged female. From the point of power and contact, the use of the titles Miss and Mrs in relationships of equal status

denotes equality and unfamiliarity while in asymmetrical relationships, it emphasizes formality and unequal power when used to address superordinates and formality when used to address subordinates. The reason why the doctor and staff choose Granny (+LN) rather than Miss/Mrs +LN to address this particular group of patients becomes obvious once we take a closer look at the usage. Unlike the use of Miss/ Mrs +LN, in the case of Granny +LN, both equality and unfamiliarity appear to be downgraded. Instead, it has the odd mixture of familiarity and formality. In turn, the tone of formality creates a distancing effect and draws attention to the actual reason for the formation of the relationship - that of an institutional one of patient and doctor/staff, the roles in the relationship, the power structure and the rights and obligations of relationship. Since most of these women are in the ward on a long term basis, it is important that the above facts be made clear in order to exercise control in running the ward. Hence, although the doctor and staff may humour, cajole and joke with the patients, the power gap is deliberately maintained, amongst other means, by the way they addressed the elderly women so that when it is necessary to restrain them it may be easily brought to their attention. Another variant of the address form Granny that is employed in the interaction is its abbreviated form 'Gran'. It is used interchangeably with the other two forms by the nurses but significantly neither the doctors nor the successive ward sisters seem to make use of this more intimate form:

'If you don't move, Gran, you'll be covered with bed sores', (p.112)

'Come on, Gran, you've got to get exercise'. (p.112)

'Let's rub your legs, Gran...' (p.112)

The interchangeable use of these terms - Gran, Granny and Granny +LN appears to have a close resemblance to the use of MN and reflects the greater intimacy and less unequal relationship between the junior members of the staff and the grannies compared to that between the latter and the doctor and senior staff. Seen in this light, it becomes evident then why the doctor and the senior staff avoid the use of the first of the terms - in order to maintain a certain amount of distance between them and their patients. However, occasionally the doctor may allow himself a bit of bantering as in the following exchange:

The doctor on his rounds would say, 'Well Granny Barnacle am I to be remembered or not?'

'You're down for a thousand, Doc'.

'My word, I must stick in with you, Granny. I'll bet you've got a long stocking, my girl'. (p.16)

In the above exchange the use of the address term 'my girl' is quite striking. No doubt it forms part of his tactic to humour the granny concerned and at the same time to down-grade and make light of what he has been saying to make clear

that he has not meant it seriously. However, the use of this term to address an elderly woman of eighty-one is at the very least so incongruous as to make it sound discourteous if not downright impudent and might not have been used if Granny Barnacle has been of higher status. However, it fits in with the general strategy of those in charge of the ward to keep the women under control by cajoling and humouring them and in general treating them like children:

> 'Turn over, Granny, that's a good girl'. (p.17)
>
> 'Let's rub your legs, Gran. My, you've got beautiful legs'. (p.112)
>
> 'And don't get upset like good girls...' (p.117)

On their part, the elderly women adhere to the rules of asymmetrical relationships and address the doctor by T. They do the same with the staff by addressing them by their occupational titles but there are occasional lapses as in the following:

> 'This meat my good woman...'
> ...'My niece will be informed ...My Solicitor ....' (p.46)
>
> 'Get me out of bed, love ...' (p.113)
>
> 'Her last name, girl'. (p.114)

The second and the third are directed at the nurses who do not react adversely to the way they are addressed. However, the addressee of the first, the unpopular ward sister,

Sister Burstead, reacts strongly to being spoken to in this manner, the condescending address form 'my good woman' probably being part of the reason for her outburst:

'Old beast... dirty old beast...
a lot of useless old filthy old...' (p.47)

The behaviour of some of these elderly women, a few of whom are on the verge of senility, requires that the doctor and staff exercise a certain amount of control over them for the efficient running of the ward. However, it will be noted that apart from the outburst of Sister Burstead, the doctor and staff assert control over the elderly women in as subtle a manner as possible using a variety of control devices, including as we have seen, the use of terms of address which they seem to have employed quite effectively.

8.4 'What do you men by that exactly?' said Mrs Pettigrew. 'What exactly do you mean?'

'You work it out for yourself', said Mrs Anthony. - Illocutionary Acts and Perlocutionary Effects in Memento Mori

8.4.1 Introduction.

The area on speech-act theory that this section intends to cover is miniscule in comparison with the enormous literature now available on the subject. This is mainly due to the fact that the aim of this section is limited. It is more to establish the role speech-act plays in the study of the interpersonal function of language, in particular the way power and control are expressed, than to provide an overall view of the theory.[8] It therefore limits itself to certain aspects of the following areas: different types of illocutionary acts, felicity conditions, particularly preparatory conditions, modifications of illocutionary force and multiple illocutionary force.

8.4.2 Speech-Acts: An Outline.

According to Hymes (1972a: 56-57) the speech-act represents a level that is unconnected to the sentence. It is "not indentifiable with the single portion of other levels of grammar, nor with segments of any particular size defined in termsof other levels of grammar". As Hymes (opcit) observes this level involves both linguistic form and social norms and as such serves as a link between the different levels of

grammar and the rest of a speech event or situation.

The main impetus for the study of speech-acts is generally acknowledged to have risen from a series of twelve lectures that John L. Austin, the English Philosopher, delivered at Harvard University in 1955 and which were posthumously published in 1962 in a book entitled How To Do Things With Words. The first major point he makes is to state the existence of two categories of utterances. The first which he calls constative utterances are those that are used with the intention of making true or false statements about the description of states of affairs, processes or events. The second category of utterances are those that are not merely to say something but also to do something and these Austin calls performative utterances.[9] By doing something with language is meant the performance of speech-acts such as promising, apologising, warning, christening, etc. as in the illustrations given below:

I promise to be back by four.
I apologise unreservedly.
I warn you to be more careful in future.
I christen this child John David Ray.

Within the category of performative utterances, Austin makes a further distinction between explicit performatives and primary performatives. The former are characterized by the occurrence of first person singular subject (I) and the present tense non-progressive form of a performance verb such as 'I bet', 'I predict', 'I disagree', etc. but as Lyons (1977: 729) warns, this is neither a necessary nor a

sufficient condition of their being explicit performatives and exceptions exist such as performative utterances with the performative verbs in the passive. On the other hand, primary perfomative utterances have less predictable features. However, in some cases they may be indicated by the clause type employed as in the case of the utterance 'go' which is in the imperative or by the modal employed as in 'You may go'. The main difference between the two however, is that although both of them can be employed to perform the same speech act, they do not necessarily have the same meaning and an explicit performative is in meaning typically more specific than the other type (Lyons (1977: 728)). In this connection Austin (1962: 32) makes the following observation about primary performatives:

> ... so far as the mere utterance is concerned, is always left uncertain when we use so inexplicit a formula as the mere imperative 'go', whether the utterer is ordering (or is purporting to order) me to go or merely advising, entreating, or what not me to go.

More will be said about these two types of performative utterances at a later stage when we discuss indirect speech acts.

What is often regarded as Austin's major contribution to the study of language in use is his claim that a speaker performs three different acts simultaneously when he/she produces an utterance, viz a locutionary act, an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act. The definitions for these have been succinctly re-phrased by Lyons (1977: 730) as follows:

(i) A locutionary act is an act of saying: the production of a meaningful utterance ("the utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain words in a certain construction, and the utterance of them with a certain "meaning" in the favourite philosophical sense of the word, i.e. with a certain reference". (Austin, 1962: 94).

(ii) An illocutionary act is an act performed in saying something: making a statement or promise, issuing a command or request, asking a question, christening a ship, etc.

(iii) A perlocutionary act is an act performed by means of saying something: getting someone to believe that something is so, persuading someone to do something, moving someone to anger, consoling someone in his distress, etc. (The underlining is mine).

The existence of verbal formulae such as performative utterances to perform illocutionary acts makes it possible for the speaker to be in control over what type of illocutionary act he/she may wish to perform and hence can be done deliberately and voluntarily. In the case of perloctionary acts, no such conventional formulae are available and the speaker can only hope that he/she has used the most appropriate utterance type that will bring about the desired perlocutionary effect and it is difficult for the speaker to foretell what perlocutionary act he/she has performed in the end. Indeed he/she may even have performed a perlocutionary act that was never intended in the first place, as so often happens with 'teasing' when the addressee takes it as an act with a more serious intent.

Similarly if the addressee feels that the speaker is being too polite for the occasion, he/she may mistake it for irony since "irony typically takes the form of being too obviously polite for the occasion" (Leech (1983: 82).

Before moving onto the classification of illocutionary acts, it will be useful to make note of two terms namely illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect that often arise in the discussion of speech acts. Lyons (1977: 731) following Austin (1962) defines them as follows:

> By the illocutionary force of an utterance is to be understood its status as a promise, a threat, a request, a statement, an exhortation, etc. By its perlocutionary effect is meant its effect upon the beliefs, attitudes or behaviour of the addressee and in certain cases, its consequential effect upon some state-of-affairs within the control of the addressee. For example, if X says to Y Open the door! investing his utterance signal with the illocutionary force of a request or command (and associating with it the appropriate prosodic and para-linguistic feature:...), he may succeed in getting Y to open the door.

We now turn to the classification of illocutionary acts, a cardinal area in the study of speech-acts. Austin (1962: 150), the first to attempt a classification of illocutionary acts, claims that they can be grouped into five general classes, viz Verdictives, Exercitives, Commissives, Behabitives and Expositives and gives over one hundred and eighty examples of these acts. Since then there have been numerous variations of Austin's taxonomy (cf Fraser (1975), Ohmann (1972), Bach and Harnish (1979) etc.) among which the one by Searle (1976) has received the most widespread attention and criticism. Like Austin's taxonomy, the improved and systematized version by Searle (1976) consists of five general classes, namely representatives, directives,

commissives, expressives and declarations. Below is a brief review of their main features:

1. Representatives: The purpose, or as Searle also calls it, the point, of representatives is to commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed propositions which usually report events, states of affairs or processes , eg. reporting, asserting, denying, suggesting, stating, boasting, claiming.

2. Directives: Directives are used with the purpose of getting the hearer to perform an action named in the utterance such as ordering, instructing, demanding, inviting, recommending, requesting, urging, begging, advising, suggesting, pleading, soliciting, questioning.

3. Commissives: The purpose of these illocutionary acts is to commit the speaker to some future course of action such as promising, answering, vowing, offering.

4. Expressives: These have the purpose of expressing the psychological attitude of the speaker towards a state of affairs that is named in the propositional content of the utterance, for example thanking, congratulating, apologising, condoling, welcoming, pardoning, blaming, praising, applauding, criticising condemning, complaining.

5. Declarations: These are usually performed by a person who has been authorised by some institution (religious, legal, social, etc.) to perform the illocutionary act, of which Searle (1976: 13) says the defining characteristic is "that the successful performance of one of its members

brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality, successful performance guarantees that the propositional content corresponds to the world: ..." The success in the performance of declarations creates some alternations in the status or condition of the person or object concerned. Examples of declarations are resigning, christening, appointing, dismissing, granting, expelling, permitting, sentencing, cancelling, authorizing. Searle (1976) develops the taxonomy based on what he claims are twelve linguistically significant dimensions of difference among illocutionary acts. Among the twelve, he regards the first three, namely differences in the point (or purpose) of the (type of) act, differences in the direction of fit between words and the world, and differences in expressed psychological state to be the cardinal ones. The first, illocutionary point, concerns the purpose of the type of illocution. For instance, the point or purpose of a request is an attempt to get the hearer to carry out an act and in contrast, that of a promise is an undertaking of an obligation by the speaker to do something. By direction of fit, Searle means whether the illocutionary point of the utterance is to get the words to match the world or to get the world to match the words. Assertions and claims for instance, belong to the first type while requests, commands and pleas belong to the second. The third, the expressed psychological state of the speaker is the declaration of such aspects as beliefs, desires, intentions, regrets or pleasure by the speaker in the performance of a speech act. The declaration, Searle says is marked linguistically. One

cannot make an utterance such as "I state that p but do not believe that p", since it is linguistically unacceptable to conjoin the explicit performative verb with the denial of the expressed psychological state. Searle also notes that the psychological declaration marked linguistically may not be actually held by the speaker.

We will discuss one further difference since it is directly related to the main issue of this section i.e. the relationship between certain types of speech acts and the power status of the speaker and addressee. Searle observes that the status or position of the speaker and hearer has a bearing on the illocutionary force of an utterance. He claims that in using an utterance with the proposition such as "clean up the room", if the general, the superordinate, asks the private, the subordinate, to clean up the room, it is likely to be a command or an order. On the other hand, if it is the other way round, it is likely to be a request, suggestion or a proposal and not a command. Some of the twelve dimensions of difference between illocutionary acts such as illocutionary point and status or position of speaker and hearer mentioned previously are related to what Austin (1962) calls felicity conditions. These are conditions that a speech act must fulfil i it is to be successful and non-defective. Each speech act has its own set of felicity conditions, some of which may overlap with those of another type. Searle (1976) groups these conditions into four classes viz propositional content conditions, preparatory conditions, sincerity conditions and essential conditions. Their definitions briefly are as follows:

Propositional content conditions: These specify the possible semantic content of the proposition that is expressed in the performance of the illocutionary act. For example, the propositional content condition of a promise is "The speaker will do A" with A denoting whatever the speaker has pledged to do.

Preparatory conditions: These relate to such aspects as the hearer's ability to perform the act specified, his/her desire to perform the act, the speaker possessing the authority or right to perform the speech act, etc. For instance certain societies require on legal or religious grounds for a man and woman to go through some type of ceremony to gain recognition of their marriage by the society concerned. The ceremony may include the pronouncement of the appropriate words such as "I pronounce you man and wife" by a person with the authority to do so. If preparatory conditions are not met, the act is null and void or in Austin's words the act will misfire.

Sincerity conditions: If a speech act is performed insincerely by a speaker without the beliefs or feelings compatible with it then the speaker is guilty of an abuse as Austin puts it. If X asserts something, he must believe that P is true.

Essential conditions: The illocutionary force of the utterance commits the speaker to certain beliefs or intentions and if he/she produces an utterance that is not in consistence with the beliefs or behaves in a way that is not in consonance with the intentions to which he/she has

committed himself/herself than the person concern is regarded as being guilty of a breach of commitment. Below is a table with examples of felicity conditions and their related speech acts:

Table 9: Some Examples of Felicity Conditions and their Related Speech Acts

	ASSERT	REQUEST	PROMISE	APOLOGIZE	NAME
Propositional content	p	H will do A	S will do A	S has done A	X will be the name of Y
Preparatory condition	S has evidence for p	H is able to do A; H would not do A in the normal course of events	H wants to do A; It is not obvious to H that S would do A in the normal course of events	A is detrimental to H	S is the person appointed to name Y
Sincerity condition	S believes p is true	S wants H to do A	S intends to do A	S feels sorry for having done A	-
Essential condition	U counts as an undertaking to the effect that p is true	U counts as an attempt to make H do A	U counts as the undertaking of an obligation to do A	U counts as an expression of S's feelings	U counts as effecting a change of facts (in this case the name)

(From Johannesson (1985: 203))

It is obvious from the definitions of the four conditions that preparatory conditions which are a set of inter-related conditions, are the most fundamental as the violations of these conditions not only nullifies the speech act but also in actual interaction may also have an adverse effect on the interaction as when one interlocutor questions the right of the other to issue orders thereby provoking an argument. We shall be continuing our discussion of preparatory conditions when we investigate the interrelationship between power status and speech acts. We shall now move to a discussion of another category of speech acts namely, indirect speech acts.

8.4.3 Indirect Speech Acts.

An indirect speech act is the performance of one illocutionary act indirectly by performing another (Searle (1975)).[10] As an illustration let us take the example that Searle (op cit: 61) himself has used:

1) Student X: Let's go to the movies.

2) Student Y: I have to study for an exam.

The propositional content of X's utterance makes it a proposal. Y's utterance on the other hand, acts as a rejection of X's proposal in this context. However, its meaning component specifies that it is a simple statement about the speaker, Y. The above is an instance of the illocutionary force indicators for one kind of illocutionary act uttered to perform, in addition, another type of illocutionary act. Searle calls the rejection of the proposal

primary illocutionary act and the statement to the effect that the speaker has to prepare for the exam which Y has used as a means of conveying the other meaning, secondary illocutionary act. Searle also warns that generally statements of the aforementioned type do not constitute rejections to proposals. How then do hearers derive the primary illocution from the secondary or literal one? Searle says that there are steps necessary to do that and he specifies ten such steps which he says still underdescribed the process. The most crucial of these steps are (1) the establishment of the existence of an "ulterior" illocutionary point beyond the one contained in the meaning of the utterance and (2) discovering what the ulterior illocutionary point is. In Searle's opinion the apparatus necessary to explain the indirect component of indirect speech acts includes the following:(1) a theory of speech acts; (2) certain general principles of co-operative conversation (namely Grice's co-operative principle);[11] (3) mutually shared background information of the speaker and hearer, both linguistic and non-linguistic and, (4) the ability on the hearer's part to draw inferences.

There are systematic ways of constructing indirect speech acts. The majority draw on the felicity conditions as Searle (1975) and Gordon and Lakoff (1971) have indicated. These either state or question the felicity conditions. The following examples on indirect commissives are categorized along the lines that Searle (1975: 80) indicated:

1. Those that are based on preparatory conditions

   A. S is able to perform the act

   eg. Can I do it for you?

   B. H wants S to perform the act

   eg. If you need help, just call me.

2. Those based on sincerity condition

   eg. I mean to help you after I finish my work.

3. Those based on the propositional content condition

   eg. I will write it down for you.

4. Those based on S's wish or willingness to do A

   eg. I am quite willing to do it for you.

5. Those based on (other) reasons for S doing A.

   eg. I have the facilities to do it for you.

We now take a brief look at the reasons for the use of indirect speech acts. Brown and Levinson (1978) describe the function of indirect speech acts as hedges on illocutionary force and note that they are the most significant form of conversational indirectness. They argue that these acts "have as raison d'etre the politeness function they perform"(p.147). This view is shared by Searle (1975) who claims that the principal motivation for making use of this category of speech act is politeness. Leech (1983: 108-109) gives two reasons for what he calls indirect illocutions being more polite. Firstly, they increase the degree of optionality for the hearer and secondly, the greater the indirectness of an illocution, the more diminished

and tentative the illocution force tends to be. Indirect speech acts thus tend to be highly marked for interpersonal meaning.

8.4.4 Illocutionary Forces: Modification and Multiplicity.

We next look at some broader issues concerning speech acts. The first is related to the modification of illocutionary force of speech acts. Illocutionary force it will be remembered is defined by Lyons (1977) as the status of an utterance as a promise, request, threat, etc. The modification of illocutionary force, Holmes (1984: 347) says involves increasing or decreasing the strength with which the illocutionary point is communicated. Holmes calls the first strategy boosting and the second attenuating. She appears to make a distinction between two broad categories of speech acts viz positively effective speech acts and negatively effective speech acts. The first expresses beliefs, thoughts, feelings and outcomes that are likely to be favourable to the hearer and are thus welcomed, for example praise, offer, compliment. The latter expresses beliefs, thoughts, feelings or outcomes that are disagreeable to the hearer and are thus unwelcome to him/her for example, criticism, threat, reprimand, etc. Holmes finds that the illocutionary force of both categories can be either boosted or attenuated as in the following examples:

1. You are absolutely correct. (Boosting positively effective speech act).

2. How foolish can you be! (Boosting negatively speech act).
3. He is stupid. (Boosting negatively effective speech act).
4. This seems fine. (Attenuating positively effective speech act).
5. The dress is a bit loose on you. (Attenuating negatively effective speech act).

From the examples it will be observed that a variety of devices exist for the modification of the illocutionary force of speech acts. In (1) the speaker has used an intensifying adverb "absolutely" to boost the meaning of the verb thereby increasing the force of the speech act as a whole. In (2) the structure of the utterance in the form of an exclamation helps to express the message more forcefully. In (3) the stress on the adjective "stupid" accentuates its negative meaning. In (4) the use in place of the verb be of a verb referring to appearance acts as a "downtoner" (Holmes (1984)) and expresses doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker. In (5) the use of the degree adverb "a bit" tones down what is apparently a negative comment.

Several researchers (cf Fraser 1978, 1980); Halliday (1970); Lakoff (1975); Brown and Levinson (1978); Holmes (1982) have dealt with various aspects of the modification of illocutionary force and Holmes (1984) has brought a substantial number of these together in her work on the modification of illocutionary force. She groups these devices into four major groups viz prosodic, syntactic,

lexical and discoursal. They have been presented in tabulated form below for convenience.

Illocutionary Force Modification Devices.

ces	Boosting	Attenuating
odic	a. Contrastive pitch (lower/higher than speaker's normal pitch) b. Strong stress	a. Full-rise intonation pattern b. Weakened stress, low volume, high pitch, etc.
ic	a. Interrogative structures b. Exclamations c. Tag statements	a. Tag questions b. Double negative, eg not unlikely, not unhappy, not unreasonable, not unproblematic, etc.
cal	a. Speaker-oriented Boosters i. style disjuncts, eg. candidly, frankly, honestly, truly etc. ii. personalized forms(involving first person pronouns), with prepositional-attitude verbs or adjectives, eg. I believe, Believe me, I assure you, I'm certain, etc. b. Hearer-oriented Boosters eg. you know, you see, as you know, you know what I mean, etc. c. Content-oriented Boosters i. impersonalized epistemically modal forms which assert the proposition with certainty, eg. certainly, it is certain (that), indubitably, without doubt. etc. ii. intensifying adverbs. eg. absolutely, just, completely, totally, very.	a. Speaker-oriented Downtoners i. lexical devices focusing on the speaker's doubts about the validity of the asserted proposition, eg. I gather, I guess, I suppose, I reckon, It seems to me, in my opinion. ii. lexical devices focusing on the speaker's reservations about his/her warrant for the speech act which follows, eg. if I am not mistakened, unless I misunderstood you, unless I heard it incorrectly etc. b. Hearer-oriented Downtoners eg. if you wouldn't mind, if it's not too much trouble, if you are sure it's OK, etc. c. Content or other-oriented Downtoners. i. devices for suggesting content is dubious or uncertain, eg. could may, might, possibly, likely, probably, etc. ii. devices for implicitely/explicitely assigning responsibility for truth of assertions to a third party, eg. allegedly, reportedly presumably, supposedly, etc. iii. devices focusing on a semantic distinction between appearance and reality as the basis of attenuation, eg. on the face of it, outwardly, nominally, theoretically, technically, fairly pretty, rather, somewhat, etc.
e	a. Explicit illocutionary force indicating devices. eg. I ask you, I tell you, I warn you, I beg you. b. Rhetoric Devices eg. and I repeat, let me stress, I would emphasis. c. Metadiscousal devices eg. as you say, as X just said. d. Repetition of speech acts. e. Linking signals. besides, furthermore, (and) what is more.	a. Linking signals for achieving intra-textual cohesion. eg. by the way, incidently, while I think of it, remember, that reminds me.

Thomas (1984) mentions two devices which may be seen as illocutionary modification devices. These are: (1) IFIDs (Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices and (2) MPCs (Metapragmatic Comments). (She mentions a third one which will be discussed in another section as it does not concern us at this stage). The first which Holmes (1984) includes under her category of discoursal devices makes clear in the surface of the utterance the intended illocutionary force (Thomas (1984)). These devices usually have as their core a performative verb such as order, request, demand, etc. For example, compare the following two sentences:

a) Leave the room.

b) I order you to leave the room.

In (b) the illocutionary force of the utterance is made explicit by the use of the verb order. MPC or metapragmatic comment refers to the comments made by the speaker either prospectively or retrospectively on the force of his/her utterance. For example:

a) I warned you, I always find out. (Headmaster to schoolgirl who has being playing truant).

b) ... well there you are Barry I've spelt it out to you I've left you in no doubt at all how you stand ...' (Inspector to police constable-Police Data).

(Examples from Thomas (1984:229)).

Thomas (1984: 227) notes that in the use of these devices, the speaker, the dominant participant "effectively denies his or her interlocutor the possibility of escaping into

"pragmatic ambivalence" - of leaving the precise illocutionary intent of his or her utterance diplomatically unclear". These devices, it need hardly be stressed, are used by superordinate interactants as Thomas (1984) makes clear since they can afford to go "on-record" (Brown and Levinson (1978)) by virtue of their power status. Holmes (1984: 348) suggests two reasons for modifying the illocutionary force of speech acts. The first is to express modal meaning or the speaker's attitude to the propositional content, and the second is to convey affective meaning or to use Halliday's term, interpersonal meaning, which is the expression of the speaker's attitude to the addressee within the context of the utterance. These attitudes can range from positive to negative and Holmes (1984: 349) claims that they make various contributions to the speaker-hearer relationship. By boosting positively affective speech acts friendliness is expressed and by attenuating negatively affective speech acts the force of an unwelcome speech act is reduced and positive feelings are displayed. Both tactics serve to increase solidarity. In contrast, by playing down the positive meaning of a speech act or increasing the force of a negative affective speech act, social distance is increased. We can also look at the modification of illocutionary force from a different angle. The frequency of occurrence of a particular type of modifying device in a particular speaker-addressee relationship may also reflect the type of relationship between them. Boosting negatively affective speech acts and attenuating positively affective speech acts can be said to occur with greater

frequency with addressees with whom the speaker is on solidarity terms than with those he/she is not, since he/she can express his opinions and attitudes freely with the former. On the other hand, the speaker has to be more restrained with addressees who are not on close terms with him/her and hence boosting positively affective speech acts and attenuating negatively affective speech acts may be the norm in such cases. The figure devised by Holmes (1984: 349) has been modified in order to incorporate the aspect mentioned above. This aspect has been called relationship feature as opposed to Holmes' affective meaning.

Figure 9. Boosting and Attenuating Speech Acts.

Strategy	Act	Affective Meaning	Relationship Feature
Boosting	Positively affective speech act	Increase solidarity	+ distance
	Negatively affective speech act	Increase social distance	+ solidarity
Attenuating	Positively affective speech act	Increase social distance	+ solidarity
	Negatively affective speech act	Increase solidarity	+ distance

In our discussion of indirect speech acts we saw how the illocutionary force indicator for one kind of illocutionary act is uttered in order to, in addition, perform another kind of illocutionary act. The intention of the speaker in such instances is to convey a single illocutionary force i.e., that of the primary illocutionary act. However, there are cases when things are not so clear cut. An utterance may convey more than one illocutionary force and the speaker may leave the intended force of the utterance deliberately indeterminate. For instance, an utterance such as "Is that the baby crying?" might be either a straight question or a request to the hearer to attend to the baby. Thomas (1985a) following Leech (1977) calls this phenomenon "pragmatic ambivalence" and also claims that this occurs "when the speaker does not make clear precisely which of a series of related illocutionary acts is intended" (p.9). The defining characteristics of pragmatic ambivalence are the speaker's intention to convey two or more meanings in a single utterance and the hearer's recognition of the fact that more than one interpretation of the utterance is possible.

With regards to the purpose of the use of ambivalence, Leech (1977, 1985), Brown and Levinson (1978) and Lakoff G. (1972) have all asserted that it is motivated by the desire to be polite. Thomas (1985a) however, holds the view that people make use of ambivalence when their communication goals differ as when a person's wishes to refrain from hurting the other person's feelings are in conflict with his duty to tell the truth. In discussing an example similar to the one given in the previous paragraph where the utterance is

ambivalent between a question and a request, Thomas (1985a) claims that where the relative rights and obligations of, or role relationships between the interactants are not obvious, it may be beneficial to both of them that the force of the utterance should be negotiable and the speaker is able to avoid the danger of confrontation or a face threatening rejection as the hearer is free to respond to the question by replying Yes, it is, or to interpret the utterance as a request and act accordingly. Thomas (1985a) also claims that ambivalence of pragmatic force is to a greater or lesser degree the norm of naturally occurring discourse.

Related to the phenomenon of ambivalence are bivalence-plurivalence[12] and multivalence which are first discussed by Thomas (1985a). She states that bivalence-plurivalence occurs when "the speaker encodes in a single utterance two or more different (sometimes diametrically opposed) forces, such as promising and threatening" (p.12-13). Bivalence-plurivalence is different from ambivalence in that in the case of the latter the addressee has the liberty to choose which of the illocutionary forces encoded in the utterance to reply to but in the case of the former the addressee has no choice since the forces of the utterance are simultaneously present and both are meant to operate at the same time. Of the use of the above device, Thomas (ibid) notes that the most striking ones are the "backhand compliments" such as the one given below in which "an insult is slipped in alongside a compliment" (p.13):

You look really good in those jeans now that you've

lost all that weight.

Thomas (ibid) notes that often the addressee responds to both/all the forces as in the following example:

A: Are those your filthy socks decorating the bathroom floor?

B: Yes. I'll move them.

Thomas's analyses A's utterance as follows:

Utterance meaning[13] - Are you the owner of the socks?.

Speaker meaning[1 14] - Ambivalent between a request/order to move socks;

Speaker meaning[2] - Ambivalent between complaint/reproach to H for his inconsiderate behaviour.

Slightly different from bivalence/plurivalence is multivalence. This phenomenon occurs when a single utterance performs two different acts simultaneously either for different receivers within the same discourse role or different receivers within different roles (i.e., addressee, hearer, audience, overhearer, bystander)[15]. One of the examples regarding the use of multivalence that Thomas (ibid) provides is the following:

S: sorry, there's a lot of noise at this end.

The context of the utterance is that the speaker is talking to Addressee 1 on the telephone and Addressee 2 who are a group of people making a noise in his room. The utterance simulatneously acts as an apology to Addressee 1 on the telephone and a reprimand to Addressee 2 and in return he

receives the appropriate responses: Addressee 1 accepts the apology and Addressee 2 apologise and stop making a noise.

The brief discussion on the three types of complex illocutionary acts and other aspects of speech-acts should provide us with some idea of the different types of knowledge needed in assigning status to utterances. In Hyme's (1972a: 57) words they are "immediate and abstract, depending upon an autonomous system of signals from both the various levels of grammar and social settings". The investigation will also highlight the difficulty faced by an analyst in deciding what speech-act an utterance is performing. Thomas (1985a: 37) observes that "the uncertainties the analyst experiences in assigning pragmatic and discourse value to utterance precisely mirrors the problems participants experience in processing in real-time". Although this may perturb the analyst for the participants it is a common occurrence and as Thomas (ibid) quoting Cicourel (1973) points out "conversational interactants have a high tolerance of uncertainty, preferring to let things become clearer in the course of time, rather than seeking overt clarification".

8.5 Power and Speech Acts.

In identifying the links between the concept of power and speech acts it will be useful first to take a look at the notion of conversational contract that Fraser and Nolan (1981) proposed. They claim that on entering into a conversation, participants bring with them conceptions of some initial sets of rights and obligations that will define the rules of the interaction at least at the initial stage. These rights and obligations are, however, likely to be renegotiated during the course of the conversation or due to changes in the context of the interaction. In discussing terms of conversational contract, Fraser and Nolan (ibid) distinguish two types of terms. The first called general terms concerns factors such as the requirement that the hearer wait for his turn, the need for one interactant to speak the same language as the other, for the interactants to speak loudly, clearly and seriously. The second type called specific terms changes from contract to contract and is liable to renegotiation. The terms are related to (1) the kind of speech act permissible in an interaction and (2) the content of a permissible act.

We saw in our discussion of the felicity conditions of speech acts that the rights and obligations of the speaker and addressee are specified in the preparatory conditions. These it will be recalled are related to such aspects as the hearer's ability to perform the act specified, his desire to perform the act, the speaker possessing the right and authority to perform the act, etc. The most obvious

examples of speech acts in which the rights and obligations of speaker and addressee play a large role are those acts that belong to the category of declarations such as christening, dismissing, sentencing, etc., acts which are performed by a person with the authority given by some institution and uttered in the appropriate context to the appropriate person. With non-declaration the right to make use of the speech act is dependent to a great degree on the contractual relationship between the participants. A child does not order his parents around, a subordinate does not critize his superior. Nor does a pupil demand that his teacher do something. As Fraser and Nolan (opcit: 94) succinctly express it "The specific terms of a relationship influence what types of speech acts can be seen as appropriate".

The content of a speech act is more strictly controlled by the relationship between the participants than are the types of permissible speech acts. Take for instance the illocutionary acts of ordering and questioning. While a teacher can order his pupil to write a hundred lines for talking in class, he cannot order him to polish his shoes for him, while the pupil's father can. Similarly while the pupil can ask the teacher the answer to a maths problem, he cannot ask him where he was the previous night although he can ask his father.

The importance of status in determining the type and content of a speech act permissible in an interaction is well emphasised by Fraser and Nolan (opcit: 95) in their criticism of the limitations of existing analysis of speech acts:

> A far more insightful way to analyze those acts which require negotiation is in terms of the degree to which they reflect the exercising of status by the speaker. To request reflects an equal status while to order reflects a higher status. Thus, the right to order must be established before it is appropriate. Similarly, to comment neutrally on something reflects equality; but to criticize reflects a higher status in terms of expertise, i.e., a sense of dominance in that domain. The right to criticize must be established between the two parties before it is viewed as part of the conversational contract. In short, if the performance of a speech act entails that the speaker is to be taken to have some higher status position relative to the hearer, be it on a social scale, political scale, intellectual scale, professional scale or musical scale, the right to perform this act must be agreed to in some sense before it can be acceptably performed.

It is obvious from the discussion by Fraser and Nolan and what was presented in the previous section that there exist categories of speech acts that are marked for power. With speech acts such as instructing, ordering, criticizing and reprimanding, the speaker is marked as possessing more power than the addressee (+ power), and with speech acts such as begging, pleading and appealing the speaker is marked as having less power than the addressee (- power). There is also another category such as congratulating, thanking and offering in which the concept of power plays no significant role and are thus neutral with regards to the concept. However, there exist also speech acts which in isolation are not overtly marked for power but due to the frequency of occurence in certain interactions or relationships function as indicators of + power or - power. Agreeing and its negative counterpart disagreeing are good examples of such cases. The occurrence of disagreeing is more frequent with the superordinates than with subordinates since

they have the full freedom to express their thoughts and opinions. On the other hand since subordinates have to be accommodating to the views of their superordinates, they cannot afford to be frank and have to limit themselves to the expression of agreement.

In addition to the above categories of speech acts, we can find another type which at the superordinate or general level appear to have no connection with the concept of power but at their subcategory levels there obviously exist some links. The speech act of questioning is an appropriate example. Goody (1978: 39) observes that "questions are speech acts which place two people in direct, immediate interaction. In doing so, they carry messages about partnerships - about relative status, assertions of status and challenges to status".

This observation becomes clearer when we examine her study of the functions of questions in Gonja. She discovers that there are four main performative modes of questions in Gonja which in my opinion are also applicable to many languages including English. These four modes are:

1) Control Questions;
2) Deference Questions;
3) Information-seeking questions and,
4) Rhetorical questions.

The latter two modes, information-seeking and rhetorical questions Goody claims are neutral with regards to the power factor. Control questions, however, are concerned with relative status and Goody notes that the one who asks

this type of question is usually in a dominant position while being asked a control question puts a person at a disadvantage. In Gonja control questions are strongly institutionalized in a number of contexts such as hearing of court cases and ordeals. In such contexts Goody (1978: 32) says "a question implies the authority to require an answer, based on the authority to hold the subordinate responsible for his actions".

In English the kind of questioning found in police interrogations, giving evidence in court, job interviews and visits to the doctor, etc., may be classed as control questions since the person doing the questioning has the authority to require the person being questioned to answer them since the former has right to penalize the latter in some ways if the questions remain unanswered. Outside the institutionalized settings, in power sensitive encounters, the questions asked by the superordinate to the subordinate can be seen to function in a similar fashion since the subordinate is obliged to answer them due to his position in the interaction.

With regards to deference questions Goody (1978) maintains that in asking such type of a question it is implied that the questioner by at least seeming to ask for information is expressing his ignorance: "If knowledge is power, then to admit ignorance, by asking, is to disclaim power" (p.32). Without seeming to stretch the original concept too far, it will be useful to see questions asked by the subordinate to the superordinate seeking his instruction, advice, guidance,

permission, opinion, etc., as deference questions since in the majority of these questions the sincerity conditions pertain to the addressee, the subordinate's willingness, wishes, opinion or authority as in the following example:

Do you think it should be done?
Shall I clear the table?
Do you want to see Mr Smith now?
May I leave at five o'clock?

There are occasions when circumstances dictate the need for the subordinate in a power-sensitive encounter to employ a speech act or a speech act whose content is not permissible under the terms of the conversational contract. At such times the subordinate may need to resort to some of the strategies outlined in the latter part of the previous section. The use of indirectness in speech is generally attributed to the wish of the interlocutor to be polite. In a power-sensitive encounter, however, apart from the wish to be polite, since a subordinate often feels that he cannot be frank he may use indirectness and pragmatic ambivalence to help disguise the non-permissible speech acts such as criticisms and demands and /or to show his reluctance in having to employ a non-permissible speech act.

Modification of the illocutionary force of speech acts is another strategy that is employed by both subordinates and superordinates in power-sensitive encounters though the type they use and the motives differ considerably. It was noted in the previous section that there are two ways of modifying illocutionary force, namely boosting and

attenuating. For reasons of expediency a subordinate is likely to attenuate negatively affective speech acts which are unwelcome to the superordinate and boost positively affective speech acts that are likely to be welcomed by the superordinate. On the other hand, superordinates may use the strategy for quite different purposes. Thomas (1984, 1985b) mentions the interesting use of IFIDs in the boosting of the illocutionary force of speech acts by the superordinate in what she calls unequal encounters. This device as mentioned in the previous section makes intended illocutionary force clear in the surface structure of the utterance. Thomas (1984. 1985b) claims it is used by the superordinate in unequal encounters in costly to the hearer situations such as issuing orders or warnings.

The use of IFIDs makes precise the illocutionary force of the speech act thereby eliminating any sense of ambivalence that a speech act might have without the use of IFID. Hence the use of IFIDs which are costly to the hearer are more typically associated with superordinates than with subordinates since the former can express their views freely and openly. Thomas (1984) claims that like the use of IFIDs the use of MPCs (Metapragmatic comments) "upshots" and "reformulations" also make precise the illocutionary force of the speech act which "by their use, the dominant participant effectively denies his or her interlocutor the possibility of escaping into "pragmatic ambivalence" (p.227). Since we have already described MPCs, no further comment on it will be made here. Upshot is the summarizing by the speaker "in a brief and unpalatable form" the import of what

the other speaker has said, and reformulation is the "presentation of H's utterance in unambivalent terms" (Thomas, opcit: 230). The following are two of the examples she gives with regards to upshot and reformulation:

Example of Reformulation.

Constable: My D.S. was telling me just how well things have gone and the jobs that I've had under my belt I'm so pleased I really am sir I've never had such a good time for basic police work as I've had in the last ...

Inspector: you say that you're working to the er er er the proper standard, is that right?

Constable: Well er I've never had any comment other than that (Police data).

Example of Upshot

Constable: (makes very long complaint about what the Inspector has said)... and I'm afraid sir I'm just absolutely staggered.

Inspector: Yeah well yes well what you're basically saying is that um Detective Inspector Jenkins is wrong. Er Acting Superintendent until recently Chief Inspector Butler is wrong, Chief Inspector Walker is wrong all these people are wrong but Barry you are right.

Constable: No you know I can't take them on sir.

The three tactics mentioned above typically belong to the superordinate and Thomas (1984) observes that they are generally used by the dominant interactant at moments of crisis when his or her authority is being questioned.

From the discussion on the relationship between the power status of participants and speech acts it should be obvious that the two main features are non-reciprocity in the use of those acts marked for power and the necessity for the subordinate to make the appropriate choice of speech acts and when this is not practical to make use of the most

suitable form to convey the intended illocutionary force and if needed to make suitable modifications to it.

8.6 Illocutionary Acts and Power Affects in Memento Mori.

8.6.1 Introduction.

The aim of this section is to examine selective character interactions and see in what ways the power status of the interlocutors in relation to each other influences and shapes the choice of speech acts they perform and the type of responses they make to each other. The character interactions chosen for considerations are those between Godfrey and his wife Charmian, Godfrey and Mrs Pettigrew, and Charmian and Mrs Pettigrew. This section also includes a study of the illocutionary force of the message of the annoymous caller and the different perlocutionary effects it has on various recipients.

It will be necessary to clarify a few points before proceeding to the analysis of the interactions. The first concerns the assignment of speech acts labels to the utterance of the characters concerned. Since these have been labelled according to the way they function, it is not always necessary to give a different label to every sentence with the result that occasionally a number of adjacent sentences may be analysed as functioning as a single speech act. A similar view has been adopted by Leech and Short (1983: 293) who state;

> ... a speech act is not necessarily embodied in a sentence or in a speech by a single character: speech acts, as units on the pragmatic level of analysis, do not have to correspond to easily recognizable units of syntactic or textual analysis.

Also connected with the assignment of speech act labels to the character utterances is the problem of determining what each act actually is. The complex nature of speech acts in general and the utterances of indirect, ambivalent, bivalent/plurivalent and multivalent illocutionary acts in particular create difficulties for the analyst in assigning pragmatic and discourse values to utterances. Moreover, the difficulties are compounded by the fact that as yet no one has produced a complete list of possible speech acts although from time to time new types of taxonomies have been proposed.

In determining what type of speech act or acts a character is performing, the analyst may gain some help from the narrator's descriptions of the on going linguistic transaction by the way he/she marks the utterances using such devices as speech act verbs such as exhort, explain, warn, claim, etc., verbs describing the tone in which the utterance is spoken such as growl, roar, shout, scream, etc., and adverbs and adverbial phrases such as in the following: 'she asked in a complaining tone', 'she asked sternly,' 'replied the child in a sulky voice', 'she said in a tired tone', etc. In Memento Mori, a large portion of the dialogues is conspicuous by lacking in any such descriptions. It is therefore necessary most of the time to base the analysis entirely on the content of the utterance, the co-text and the way the addressee responds to it. Lastly it must be admitted that in assigning speech act labels to the utterances of characters in Memento Mori, there exist the possibility that they can be labelled in some other way

taking into consideration other factors which the analyst has missed out or has not thought relevant.

8.6.2 Modes Of Questioning and Power Status:

Godfrey Colston - Mabel Pettigrew Relationship.

As outlined in Chapter 6, the relationship between Godfrey Colston and Mrs Pettigrew can be seen as developing through three stages. The transition from one stage to another is marked by the way they interact and it is most evident from the speech acts they employ when speaking to each other. In this section we shall be concentrating on the speech acts they perform and examine the correlations between these and any changes in their relationship.

During the first of the three stages in their relationship, despite the secret liaison between the two, hardly any interaction appears to take place between Godfrey and Mrs Pettigrew. In the first of the very few exchanges to take place between the two, reported by the narator on page 75, Godfrey speaks in the manner of a dominant speaker dismissing Mrs Pettigrew's statement with a brusque remark 'Nonsense'. However, at a latter part of the first stage, which alerts us to the impending changes in their relationship, Godfrey begins to be more cautious in the way he speaks to the woman as will be seen from the following two exhanges:

'... Are you listening, Charmian?'

Was he killed at the front , dear?'

'Ah, me!' said Mrs Pettigrew.

Godfrey opened his mouth to say something to Mrs Pettigrew, thenstopped. He held up the paper again and from behind it mumbled, 'No, Zomba...' (p.106)

'Tempest Sidebottome!' said Mrs Pettigrew, reaching to take the paper from his hand. 'Let me see'.

Godfrey withdrew the paper and opened his mouth as if to protest, then closed it again. However, he said, 'I am not finished with the paper'. (p.107)

Godfrey, normally agrumentative, brusque and impolite is in the first exchange obviously hesitant to express whatever he wants to say and in the second it appears that in place of the illocutionary act of protesting, he chooses to employ an indirect speech act, viz an indirect refusal whose force is comparatively weaker than the first.

As described in Chapter 6, the relationship between the two undergoes a dramatic change once Mrs Pettigrew starts black-mailing Godfrey. The reversal in their power status is evident from the linguistic transactions between the two. The dominant role Mrs Pettigrew now assumes is highlighted by the speech acts she employs when conversing with Godfrey. In the three interactions (p.120-122:p.132-133; p.163-164) that takes place at this point in their relationship, Mrs Pettigrew's speech is characterized by speech acts the majority of which are marked for + power namely orders,

questions, instructions, corrections, rebukes, criticisms and reproaches. Most of Mrs Pettigrew's questions can be interpreted as control questions judging from the type of information they seek (cf 7.4.4) and the lack of resistance on Godfrey's part to the interrogation. On the other hand, Godfrey's discourse is typically that of a subordinate. It consists mainly of replies to Mrs Pettigrew's interrogation and excuses for not carrying out her instructions. At one stage (p.132), he even makes use of a plea when Mrs Pettigrew speaks too loudly and he is afraid of Mrs Anthony overhearing.

The encounter on pages 163-164 serves as a good illustration of how the interactions between the two proceed. Below is reproduced the interaction with a rough analysis of the speech acts provided in brackets.

> ... No thought, word or deed of his life had roused in him any feeling resembling the guilt he experienced as he stood waiting for Mrs Pettigrew to pay the taxi and turn to ask him, 'Where have you been?' (1. questioning).
>
> 'Buying the paper', said Godfrey. (2 answering)
>
> 'Did you have to park your car here in order to walk down the road to but the paper?' (3. questioning).
>
> 'Wanted a walk', said Godfrey. 'Bit stiff.' (4. answering).
>
> 'You'll be late for your appointment. (5. informing). Hurry up. (6. ordering) I told you to wait for me. (7. reminding) Why did you go off

without me?' (8. questioning).

'I forgot', said Godfrey as he climbed into the car, 'that you wanted to come. I was in a hurry to get to the lawyer's'. (9. answering) She went round to the other side of the car and got in.

'You might have opened the door for me', she said. (10.reproaching).

Godfrey did not at first understand what she meant, for he had long since started to use his advanced years as an excuse to omit the mannerly conformities of his younger days, and he was now automatically rude in his gestures as if by long-earned right. He sensed some new frightful upheaval of his habits behind her words, as he drove off fitfully towards Sloane Square.

She lifted the paper and glanced at the front page.

'Ronald', she said. 'Here's Ronald Sidebottome in the paper, his photo; he's got married. (11. informing) No, don't look. (12. ordering) Watch where you're going, we'll have an accident. (13. warning) Mind out there's a red light'. (14. warning).

They were jerked roughly as Godfrey braked for the red light.

'Oh, do be careful', she said, 'and a little

more considerate'. (15. rebuking).

He looked down at her lap where the paper was lying. Ronald's flabby face beamed up at him. He stood with Olive simpering on his arm, under the headlines, 'Widower, 79, wed girl, 24'.

'Olive Mannering!' Godfrey let out. (16. exclaiming)

'Oh, you know her?' (17. questioning)

'Granddaughter of my friend the poet', Godfrey said. (18. answering).

'The lights, Godfrey', said Mrs Pettigrew in a tired tone. (19. warning) He shot the car forward.

'"Wealthy ex-stockbroker..."' Mrs Pettigrew read out. 'She knows what she's doing, all right. "Miss Mannering ... film extra and B.B.C actress ... now given up her flat in Tite Street, Chelsea ... "' (20. informing). The jig-saw began to piece itself together in Mrs Pettigrew's mind. As heart is said to speak unto heart, Mrs Pettigrew looked at Olive's photograph and understood where Godfrey had been wont to go on those afternoons when he had parked his car outside the bombed building.

'Of course, Godfrey, this will be a blow to you', she said. (21. stating).

Several of Mrs Pettigrew's utterances are bivalent. Her

question 'Did you have to park your car here in order to walk down the road to buy the paper?' also indirectly states her disbelief of the answer that Godfrey give. Similarly, 'You'll be late for your appointment' (5. informing). 'I told you to wait for me'. (7. reminding) and 'Why did you go off without me?' (8. questioning) also have the force of a rebuke. Godfrey's reply to the last shows that he noticed the bivalent force of Mrs Pettigrew's utterance since it not only acts as answers to the former's question but also as explanation for the reason for his action. Another of Mrs Pettigrew's utterance - 'The lights, Godfrey'. which is said in a tired tone, has the force of both a warning as well as a rebuke judging from Mrs Pettigrew's tone. Her last utterance 'Of course Godfrey this will be a blow to you'. has the dual forces of stating as well as warning Godfrey that she knows everything. This has the perlocutionary effect of frightening Godfrey and making him go to the solicitor's office 'like a lamb' (p.164). Examing the speech acts from the point of view of power, we discover that of the sixteen speech acts Mrs Pettigrew performs, eleven of them entail that the speaker is to be taken as possessing some higher status relative to the addressee (cf 8.4). In contrast, the majority of Godfrey's utterances which are just five in number, serves as answers to Mrs Pettigrew's questions and at the same time function as explanations of the reasons for his actions. To see the full significance of Godfrey's behaviour in this interaction it should be compared with his interaction with his sister Lettie in a similar situation at the beginning of the novel

on pages 11-12.

However, in what may be said to be the third stage in their relationship which is of very short duration, another radical change occurs. Not long before the last encounter between the two, Godfrey learns of his wife Charmian's past infidelities. This acts as a turning point in his relationship with Mrs Pettigrew since he is not only able to purge himself of the guilt he feels about his own past infidelities and fear of the loss of pride before his wife if she were to learn about them, but it also liberates him from the control of Mrs Pettigrew as she is no longer able to use the information about his affairs to blackmail him. In the final interaction between the two, although there is a marked difference in the way Godfrey treats Mrs Pettigrew, the latter, unaware of the change in circumstances, continues to interact with him in her usual domineering manner making use of speech acts that are normally associated with the dominant interlocutor, namely questioning, rebuking and soothing. However, Godfrey having regained his power status totally ignores the woman and makes no acknowledgement of any of the utterances directed at him. He subsequently dismisses her from service issuing the first order he has ever given: 'And you leave tomorrow morning'. (p.204).

8.6.3 Acts of Resistance :

Charmian Colston - Mrs Pettigrew Relationship.

In our review of the relationship between Charmian Colston and Mrs Pettigrew in Chapter 6, we have taken note of the

intense dislike that Charmian has for the latter from the initial stage and Mrs Pettigrew's attempt to bring Charmian under her control using various means which is strongly resisted by the elderly woman. However, since Charmian suffers from neurasthenia, she is easily confused and occasionally succumbs to the latter's control. The attitude that Charmian holds towards Mrs Pettigrew and the latter's disregard for her employer and her attempts at controlling her can all be seen clearly in the way they interact in the first encounter (pages 55-56) between the two to be reported by the narrator. Charmian, annoyed by the unexpected intrusion of Mrs Pettigrew while she is in conversation with Alec Warner, one of her friends, attempts to get the latter to leave the room by ordering her to take the tea things away. In return Mrs Pettigrew demonstrates her disregard for her employer by not carrying out her order fully. She makes no move to remove the tea things herself and instead rings for Mrs Anthony to come and remove them while she takes a seat and attempts to join in the conversation with a little help from Alec Warner with whom she is acquainted. The claim to equal if not superior status to Charmian by Mrs Pettigrew is highlighted by her overt attempt to control Charmian with the use of an order to stop her from taking a speaking turn which has already been alloted to Alec Warner by the latter:

> 'Now, Mrs Colston, just a moment, while Mr Alec Warner tells us about democracy'. (p.56)

Apparently amazed at this order from a subordinate, Charmian

'looked about strangely for a moment' (p.56) then follows the instructions given obviously because she is in a state of confusion. Mrs Pettigrew again takes advantage of Charmian's confused state to consolidate her power and employs another speech act marked for + power when she corrects Charmian for incorrectly addressing Alec Warner:

> 'Not Eric - Alec', said Mrs Pettigrew. (p.56)

While Charmian makes no overt protest in the above interaction, that evening she attempts to redress this and reassert her power when she formally prohibits her from entering the drawing-room while she is with her visitors which simultaneously acts as a rebuke for Mrs Pettigrew's action that morning. But before she even starts to speak, Mrs Pettigrew interrupts her to ask her to address her by her first name:

> ... Charmian had spoken sharply. 'I think, Mrs Pettigrew -'
>
> 'Oh, do call me Mabel and be friendly'. (p.64)

Charmian ignores the interruption as well as the recommendation and reiterates her instruction:

> 'I think, Mrs Pettigrew, it will not be necessary for you to come in to the drawing-room when I have visitors unless I ring'. (p.64)

However, Mrs Pettigrew once again displays her disregard for Charmian as well as the prohibition by making no sign of acknowledgement. Instead, she bids her a curt good night and

walks out of the room after switching off the light. The latter action is performed without first seeking Charmian's permission. In this encounter Mrs Pettigrew treats Charmian as if she is no better than a small child.

In the next encounter on pages 75-78, the relationship improves slightly. Mrs Pettigrew attenpts to take the role of a dominant speaker making use of illocutionary acts such as advising, ordering, praising and reasoning. At the beginning of the interaction Charmian asserts her independence by stating her rejection of Mrs Pettigrew's advice.

> 'But, said Mrs Pettigrew to her, 'you should get into the habit of breakfast in bed'. (p.75)
>
> 'No', said Charmian cheerfully as she tottered round the table, grasping the backs of chairs, to her place. 'That would be a bad habit. My morning cup of tea is all that I desire. Good morning, Godfrey'. (p.75)

Later, however, probably due to the presence of her husband she is careful how she states her refusal when Mrs Pettigrew keeps on insisting that she take her pills. In the following exchanges it will be noted that Charmian does not make outright refusals to take the medicine but attenuates them by making use of indirect refusals by stating that she has already taken them:

> 'You're in good form this morning'.
> Mrs Pettigrew remarked. 'Don't forget to take

your pills'. ...

'I have had my pills already', said Charmian. 'I had them with my morning tea, don't you remember?'

'No', said Mrs Pettigrew, 'you are mistaken dear. Take your pills'. (p.75)

'Ah, you would be quite a grown girl, then. Take your pills, dear'... (p.75)

Charmian pushed them back shakily and said, 'I have already taken my pills this morning. I recall quite clearly, I usually do take them with my early tea'. (p.76)

Mrs Pettigrew placed the two pills nearer to Charmian, but said no more about them. Charmian said, 'I mustn't exceed my dose'. and shakily replaced them in the bottle. (p.76)

At this point Godfrey intervenes and it is only then that Charmian openly states her wish not to take the pills.

Charmian's assertiveness increases with the presence of the doctor and when Mrs Pettigrew indirectly states that Charmian's memory was faulty to the doctor, she picks up courage to indirectly accuse Mrs Pettigrew of wanting to poison her and defends her own memory:

'In that case', said Charmian, 'we must question your <u>intentions</u> in trying to give me a second dose. Taylor knows I

took my pills as I always do. I did not leave them on the tray'. (p.80)

With the improvement in her health Charmian becomes even more assertive and her resistance to Mrs Pettigrew's attempts to influence her increases. She becomes more authoritative and begins to issue orders and be openly impolite to the woman as in the following exchange:

'For you', she said. 'The photographer wants to come tomorrow at four'.

'Very well', said Charmian.

'I shan't be here, you know, tomorrow afternoon'.

'That's all right', said Charmian. 'He does not wish to photograph you. Say that four o'clock will be splendid'. (p.122)

Despite the apparent lack of power over Charmian at this point in their relationship, in public Mrs Pettigrew appears to want to give the impression that she has full control over the elderly woman. This is observable from the orders that she issues to Charmian, the force of which are boosted by the tone of her voice, in the presence of the people who have come to attend the meeting at Henry Mortimer's house. The utterance can be said to be multivalent to a certain degree: it serves as an order to Charmian while indirectly informing those present of the power over the old woman:

'Charmian', said Mrs Pettigrew out loud, 'come and make yourself comfortable. I'll take you. Come along.' (p.145)

However, not long after this the final showdown between the two takes place when Mrs Pettigrew visits Charmian in her room ostensibly to complain about Mrs Anthony. In this encounter (pages 156-161) we see Charmian attempting to assert her authority over Mrs Pettigrew. The latter however, appears to pay little heed to it as the opening exchange between the two will indicate:

Charmian opened her eyes. 'I didn't hear you knock, Mabel', she said.

'No', said Mrs Pettigrew. 'You didn't.'

'Always knock', said Charmian. (p.156)

By choosing to reply to the secondary illocutionary act, ie. stating rather than to the primary illocutionary act, ie. rebuking, Mrs Pettigrew makes known her disregard for the old woman and also avoids having to apologize. This provokes Charmian 'to go on record' and she issues a direct order to which Mrs Pettigrew makes no reply but instead she proceeds with her complaint about Mrs Anthony. Complaints about a third person are normally made to a person who has some authority over the person against whom the complaint is being lodged and possibly also over the person registering the complaint. By thus coming to Charmian to complain about Mrs Anthony, Mrs Pettigrew creates the impression

that she acknowledges Charmian as a figure of authority at least in relation to Mrs Anthony. But it becomes apparent at a latter stage that there is a reason behind this seeming act of deference as the sharp old woman perceives. Be as it may, it allows Charmian the opportunity to assert her authority over Mrs Pettigrew with an order delegating her to perform a task which is followed by a remark that downgrades Mrs Pettigrew's role in the house and as a consequence also her authority:

> 'Keep an eye on her, Mabel. You have little else to do'. (p.156)

Charmian's independent attitude and authoritative stand infuriates Mrs Pettigrew to such an extent that she suffers an attack of asthma. This further erodes Mrs Pettigrew's position in relation to Charmian which enables the latter to take full charge of the situation and also of Mrs Pettigrew as the following observations, orders and advice will reveal:

> 'Sit down, Mabel. You are out of breath'. (p.156)

> 'You seem to have a mild touch of asthma', Charmian remarked. Better keep as still and quiet as possible and presently I will get Godfrey to ring the doctor'. (p.157)

When Charmian attempts to get Godfrey to call the doctor, Mrs Pettigrew stops her:

> 'No, no, I'm better now,' said Mrs Pettigrew

> gradually controlling her breath, for she had the self-discipline of a nun where business was concerned. It is just a little turn. Mrs Anthony is such a worry.' (p.158)

Mrs Pettigrew refuses to admit that she is suffering from something as serious as asthma because to confess that her condition is serious enough to warrent treatment from a doctor would put her in the same league as 'an old wreck' (p.158) like Charmian and weaken her power. But Charmian indirectly expresses her disbelief by questioning her further about the illness:

> 'Have you had asthma before, Mabel?' (p.158)

But Mrs Pettigrew again denies that she has asthma and plays it down by with the use of the downtoners 'just' and 'a little':

> 'It is not asthma. It's just a little chest trouble.' (p.158)

The drift of the conversation plays into Mrs Pettigrew's hands and enables her to pursue the topic of Charmian entering a nursing home. She advises Charmian most persuasively informing her of the advantages:

> 'You would be better off in the home'. said Mabel Pettigrew. 'You know you would. Lots of company, your friends might even come and visit you sometimes'. (p.158)

Charmian states her inclination to move to a nursing home but

also states her refusal to do it on the grounds that Godfrey needs her:

> 'It's true I would prefer to be in the nursing home. However,' said Charmian,'Godfrey needs me here'. (p.158)

On hearing Charmian's refusal Mrs Pettigrew's tone changes and she contradicts Charmian bluntly:

> 'That's where you are wrong',

To add greater impact to her words, Mrs Pettigrew gets up and comes and stands by Charmian's bed to make her statement thereby boosting the force of the utterance:

> 'You're more of a hindrance to Godfrey here than you would be in a nursing home. It's ridiculous to say he needs you'. (p.159)

However Charmian does not give in to the pressure and she affirms her independence by making an unmitigated statement of her refusal:

> 'I shall not go'. (p.159)

To demonstrate that she has no inclination to listen to Mrs Pettigrew any further and to show that the conversation has come to an end she changes the topic and states her intention of taking a nap. It is further reinforced by her question about the time:

> 'Now I think I must have my nap. What is the time?' (p.159)

Mrs Pettigrew again displays her lack of respect for Charmian by refusing to take the hint or answer Charmian's question. Instead she informs her of the purpose of her visit:

> 'I came', said Mrs Pettigrew, 'to tell you about Mrs Anthony. She can't do the cooking any more, we shall all have stomach trouble. I will have to take over the meals. And besides, this cold supper she leaves for us at night is not satisfactory. It doesn't agree with me, going to bed on a cold supper. I will have to take over the cooking'. (p.160)

At first Mrs Pettigrew's statement seems like a continuation of her complaint against Mrs Anthony but it turns out that it is a bid for an extension of her power. Mrs Pettigrew's statement turns out to be merely informing Charmian of her intentions regarding the cooking and not a bid to consult her. Charmian acknowledges Mrs Pettigrew's decision with a praise but it is attenuated by the tone of her voice. Being an extremely perceptive person she meanwhile calculates the implicature of Mrs Pettigrew's statement knowing that most of her utterances are bivalent:

> 'That is very good of you', murmured Charmian, calculating meanwhile what was behind all this, since, with Mrs Pettigrew, something always seemed to be behind her statement. (p.160)

But she does not have to wait very long. Mrs Pettigrew continues rather ominously to make an ambivalent statement.

It is quite transparent that one intended illocutionary force of the utterance is a threat:

> 'Otherwise', said Mrs Pettigrew 'one of us might be poisoned'. (p.160)

Mrs Pettigrew skilfully employs the passive voice form of the verb 'poison' which makes the utterance ambivalent between food poisoning and poison administered by someone. The use of 'one of us' also adds to the ambivalence. However, in case the threat escapes Charmian, she repeats the word 'poisoned' again with emphasis thereby boosting the threat. By directing her to think it over Mrs Pettigrew makes clear who the 'one of us' means:

> '<u>Poisoned</u>', said Mrs Pettigrew.
> 'Poison is so easy. Think it over'.

With these words she departs leaving Charmian extremely agitated. As an intelligent person she is able to assess the threat as "cheap melodrama" (p.160) but in the end fear predominates and she decides to give in to the woman as she feels she cannot cope with it alone since she feels that neither her husband, her son, her friends nor the doctor will take her words seriously or take action about it.

8.6.4 From Informant to Informed:

Godfrey Colston - Charmian Colston Relationship.

From the way the couple interact we can distinguish two stages in their relationship - the period before Charmian's amazing improvement in her health and the period after, which coincides with the decline in Godfrey's health and authority.

The interactions that take place between the two during the first stage is marked by the recurrent appearance in Godfrey's discourse of speech acts that are overtly marked for + power such as ordering, correcting, rebuking and as mentioned earlier also informing which includes reading out the obituary notices in the newspaper. On the other hand, Charmian's speech consists of a great number of information-seeking questions and statements recalling her past.

The following encounter on pages 32-33 illustrates well the way the couple interact. A rough analysis of the speech acts performed is given within brackets after each utterance. The encounter takes place just after Godfrey's return from the cremation of Lisa Brooke a friend of the Colstons:

'I have been to Lisa Brooke's funeral', he said to Charmian when he got home, 'or rather cremation'. (1. informing)

Charmian remembered Lisa Brooke, she had cause to remember her. 'Personally, I'm afraid', said Charmian. 'that Lisa was a little spiteful to me sometimes, but she had her better side. A generous nature when dealing with the right person, but -' (2. stating)

'Guy Leet was there', said Godfrey. 'He's nearly finished now, bent over two sticks'. (3. informing)

Charmian said 'Oh, and what a clever man he was!'. (4. praising)

'Clever?', said Godfrey. (5. questioning/ disagreeing)

Charmian, when she saw Godfrey's face, giggled squeakily through her nose.

'I have quite decided to be cremated when my time comes,' said Godfrey.

'It is the cleanest way. The cemeteries only pollute our water supplies. Cremation is

best. (6. stating/informing)

'I do so agree with you', said Charmian sleepily. (7. agreeing)

'No, you do not agree with me', he said. (8. disagreeing) 'R.C.s are not allowed to be cremated'. (9.stating/informing)

'I mean. I'm sure you are right, Eric dear'. (10. correcting herself)

'I am not Eric', said Godfrey. (11. correcting)

'You are not sure I'm right. (12. correcting/informing) Ask Mrs Anthony, she'll tell you that R.C.s are against cremation'. (13. directing) He opened the door and bawled at Mrs Anthony. She came in with a sigh.

'Mrs Anthony you're Roman Catholic, aren't you?' said Godfrey. (14. questioning/confirming).

'That's right'. (15. answering/agreeing)

'I've got something on the stove'. (16. informing/ excusing herself to leave)

'Do you believe in cremation?' (17. questioning)

'Well', she said. 'I don't really much like the idea of being shoved away quick like that. I feel somehow it's sort of -' (18. stating)

'It isn't a matter of how you feel, it's a question of what your Church says you've got to do. Your church says you must not be

cremated, that's the point'. (19. informing/ instruction/explaining).

'Well as I say, Mr Colston, I don't really fancy the idea -' (20. stating)

'Fancy the idea ... It is not a question of what you fancy. You have no choice in the matter, do you see?' (21. criticizing/informing/ instructing).

'Well, I always like to see a proper burial, I always like -' (22. stating)

'It's a point of discipline in your Church', he said, 'that you mustn't be cremated. (23. informing) You women don't know your own system'. (24. criticizing)

'I see, Mr Colston. (25. acknowledging) I've got something on the stove'. (26. informing/ excusing herself to leave)

'I believe in cremation, but you don't - Charmian, you disapprove of cremation, you understand'. (27. informing/instructing)

'Very well, Godfrey'. (28. agreeing)

'And you too, Mrs Anthony'. (19. ordering)

'O.K. Mr Colston'. (30. agreeing)

'On principle', said Godfrey. (31. stating)

'That's right', said Mrs Anthony and disappreared. (32. agreeing)

It is obvious from the speech acts that Godfrey employs that he dominates the interaction. The majority of the speech acts he uses namely instructing, disagreeing, informing and criticizing are all marked for + power. In comparison, most of the time Charmian expresses her agreement to whatever Godfrey says. By establishing himself as the influential speaker through the use of speech acts marked for + power he is able to brow-beat the two women into expressing their assent to what he feels should be their views regarding cremation.

However, even during the first stage, Charmian is not always as malleable as she appears to be in the above encounter. In the episode on pages 75-78 when Godfrey orders her to take the pills that she believes she has already taken that morning, she openly states her wish not to take them as well as correcting Godfrey for stating that he pays the doctor's fees:

> 'Godfrey, I do not wish to be poisoned by an overdose. Moreover my own money pays for the bills'. (p.77)

Similarly, in the episode on pages 105-109, when Godfrey annoys her by repeatedly correcting her, she openly objects to it and expresses her disagreement to Godfrey's correction:

> 'Your uncle was not in Dorset. He was up in Yorkshire'. said Godfrey.
>
> 'But he was a country rector, like Tempest's uncle. Leave me alone, Godfrey. I am just telling Mrs Pettigrew'. (p.108)

'... We had not a great deal in common, Mrs Pettigrew, and of course as a girl she was considerably younger than me'.

'She is still younger than you', said Godfrey.

'No, Godfrey, not now ...' (p.108)

Charmian stages a remarkable recovery as a result of her effort to resist the domination of Mrs Pettigrew. Charmian's improvement however coincides with the decline in Godfrey's health as well as his assertiveness in the face of the pressure exerted by Mrs Pettigrew and the anxiety caused by the anonymous telephone calls. At this stage in their relationship, we see Charmian transformed into a more assertive and independent minded person. Despite the attempt by Godfrey to maintain his control over her it is obvious that he is no longer as influential as he used to be and Charmian no longer appears to fear him or tolerate the type of treatment he used to mete out to her. At certain times, it even appears as though Godfrey is the subordinate in the interaction as he pleads with Charmian not to leave the house and she in return offers him advice.

The fear caused by the telephone call makes him seek the counsel of his wife and Charmian advises him as follows:

'Well I should treat it as it deserves to be treated'.

'What do you mean?'

'Neither more nor less', said Charmian. (p.124)

Later she cannot help taking advantage of the situation and makes a sarcastic suggestion to Godfrey:

> 'Why not consult Mrs Pettigrew?'
> said Charmian. 'She is a tower of strength'.

In the meantime Charmian has been repeatedly stating her intention to enter a nursing home. Godfrey presumably afraid of being left alone to deal with Mrs Pettigrew, pleads with her not to leave the house whenever Charmian announces her decision to leave:

> 'There is no need', said Godfrey desperately, 'for you to go away to a home now that you are so improved'. (p.123)

> 'To move from your home at the age of eighty-seven', Godfrey was saying in an almost pleading voice, 'might kill you. There is no need'. (p.124)

> 'There is no need, my dear, for you to go into a home', said Godfrey. 'No one is suggesting it. All I was saying -' (p.131)

> 'Don't go to the nursing home',
> he said in whisper.
> 'Godfrey, I made my own tea this afternoon'.
> 'All right', he said, 'you did, but don't go -' (p.133)

Detecting the anxiety that Godfrey feels in the last exchange she again advises him:

'Godfrey', she said. 'If you will take my advice you will make it up with Eric'. (p.133)

Charmian's assertiveness continues to grow and at the meeting at Henry Mortimer's house when Godfrey interrupts Mortimer, she takes it upon herself to chide him by informing him:

'Godfrey', said Charmian. 'I'm sure everyone is fascinated by what Henry is saying'.(p.151)

She no longer readily agrees with everything Godfrey as she did in the episode on pages 32-33 and fearlessly expresses her views as in the following when she informs him:

'We did talk over the whole matter quite a lot last night. Let us leave the subject alone. I for one like Henry Mortimer, and I thoroughly enjoyed the drive'. (p.155)

Charmian's road to independence culminates in her making her own arrangements without first informing or consulting Godfrey when faced with the threat of poisoning by Mrs Pettigrew. She informs Godfrey only when all the arrangements have been settled:

'Godfrey', she said, 'I am going to the nursing home on Sunday morning. I have made arrangements with the doctor and the bank. Universal Aunts are coming to pack my things. Janet Sidebottome will accompany me. I do not wish to put you out, Godfrey.

It might distress you to take me yourself...' (p.165)

Even the strong reaction from Godfrey will not make Charmian change her plans and she eventually moves to the nursing home.

8.6.5 "Remember you must die". Threat, Advice, Warning or Reminder?

One of the central elements in Memento Mori is the mysterious phone calls that nearly all the elderly characters in the novel receive. It will be observed that different characters react to the anonymous call differently but the predominant reaction is that of fear and incomprehension. Since the message is conveyed by telephone, a channel that conveys sound only, the only way a character can decide what the speech act status of the utterance is by its propositional content and the tone of the voice especially when the message is as short as the present one. It will be noted that each character appears to receive the message from various individuals belonging to different age groups delivered in dissimilar tones and hence there are slight variations in reaction even though the reactions are basically the same. Below is given a list of the characters who receive the anonymous call and their descriptions of the voice of the caller:

1. Charmian Colston: 'It was the voice of a very civil young man ...'
'He was', said Charmian, 'most civil on all three occasions. (p.147)

2. Godfrey Colston: 'Sounds like a common fellow, with a lisp'.

'I say he is a common chap...'
'A barrow boy I should say'.(p.100)
Did he have a lisp?' said Godfrey? (p.149)

3. Lettie Colston: '... he is quite cultured. But sinister'.

'A middle-aged, cultivated man who should know better -' (p.100)
The man's voice is strong and sinister. A man of middle years'. (p.148)

4. Guy Leet: '... in his opinion the offender is a schoolboy'. (p.148)

(Guy heard the clear boyish voice continue...) (p.192)
'Nice youngster really. I suppose he's been over-working at his exams. The cops will get him of course'. (p.193)

5. Miss Lotinville: 'A foreigner...'

'I assure you, Chief Inspector, he is a man of the Orient, I should say'. (p.149)

6. Percy Mannering: 'it was a strong mature voice, very noble, like W.B. Yeats'. (p.193)

7. Henry Mortimer: Everyone else gets a man on the

line to them, but mine is always this woman, gentle-spoken and respectful. (p.153)

8. Mrs Pettigrew: 'I haven't had any of your phone calls', she said. 'I've made no statement'. (p.149)
(Mrs Pettigrew, though she had in fact, one quiet afternoon, received the anonymous telephone call, had chosen to forget it.) (p.154)

9. Mr Rose: '... the man sounded like an official person ... late middle-age...'
'No, no. Like an official. My wife says an army man, but I would say a government chap.' (p.149)

10. Mrs Rose: (My wife says an army chap ...' (p.149)).

11. Janet Sidebottome: 'He sounded like a Teddy-boy...' (p.147)
'He was a youth - a Teddy-boy, as I've said', (p.148)

12. Ronald Sidebottome: 'Ronald's statement', said Mortimer, 'describes the caller as a man well advanced in years with a cracked and rather shaky and a supplicant tone'. (p.148)

13. Alec Warner: (It was from a man who said, 'Remember you must die'.

> ... Finally he wrote a passage in his diary, ending it with the words, 'Query: mass-hysteria'.) (p.138).

For some of the elderly characters, their attitudes towards the propositional content of the message ie to remember the fact that must die is closely related to their attitude towards death and religious and moral values, and has a great bearing in deciding the status of the utterance and the perlocutionary effect it has on them. This fact will emerge when we examine the reaction of the main characters to the message. We begin with Dame Lettie Colston who claims to "have had far more experience of the vile creature than anyone else" (p.148).

At the beginning of the novel, although she keeps in contact with the police about the matter, Lettie Colston appears to, or pretends to treat the message quite lightly telling her brother Godfrey:

> 'The same thing. And quite matter-of-fact, not really threatening'. (p.9)

She also minimizes his suggestion of danger when he invites her to spend the night at his house:

> 'Nonsense. There is no danger. It is merely a disturbance'. (p.9)

However, that the matter is not far away from her thoughts is clear from her request for advice from Jean Taylor, Charmian's

former maid and companion, when she visits her in hospital. It appears that she does not even dare to discuss it aloud:

> Dame Lettie leant to Mrs Taylor's ear and, in a low tone, informed her. (p.38)

She also confesses to Jean Taylor the great strain the "distressing" message is causing her:

> '... but I confess, I am feeling the strain. Imagine for yourself every time one answers the telephone. One never knows if one is going to hear that distressing sentence. It is distressing'. (p.38)

Jean Taylor first makes the suggestion that Lettie ignores it but the latter claims that the remark is too troublesome to be ignored. She becomes quite indignant when Jean Taylor next advises her that she should perhaps obey it and try to remember that she must die. To Lettie the person who makes the calls is a criminal:

> '... What I hoped you could suggest, is some way of apprehending the criminal'. (p.39)

Lettie begins to suspect various people in particular her nephew Eric Colston and retired Chief Inspector Mortimer, of trying to frighten her to death in order to inherit her money. She develops such an obsession about it that she begins to make nightly searches of her house and garden before she goes to bed in case there is somebody hiding to attack her while she is sleeping. She thinks of a strong friend

'some major Strength from which to draw' (p.104) and the only friend whom she thinks has the "strength" is Tempest Sidebottome. Ironically, the following morning her death is announced in the papers.

During her final visit to Jean Taylor, the latter makes the suggestion that the caller is none other than Death himself:

> 'In my belief', she said, 'the author of the anonymous telephones is Death himself, as you might say. I don't see, Dame Lettie, what you can do about it. If you don't remember Death, Death reminds you to do so, And if you can't cope with the facts the next best thing is to go away for a holiday'. (p.175)

Lettie thinks the idea so absurd that she reports to the Matron that Jean Taylor has gone off her mind. For Lettie who is undoubtedly irreligious and deeply obsessed with her will game the message can only be from a human source. Lettie, a former penal reformer and prison visitor, even expresses her regret that flogging has been abolished since 'This vile creature ought to be taught a lesson' (p.141).

It is clear that Jean Taylor, a Catholic, views the message from a religious perspective. From the advice she gives to Lettie that she should perhaps obey it, by the use of the verb obey it appears that she believes the message to originates from some higher authority. Indeed it is of no small significance that the idea of the identity of the caller, that it is Death himself, first springsto her mind

while she is praying at a Mass for an inmate of the Maud Long ward who has recently died:

> During the course of the Mass an irrational idea streaked through Jean Taylor's mind. She dismissed it and concentrated on her prayers. But this irrational idea, which related to the identity of Dame Lettie's tormentor, was to return to her later again and again. (p.119)

For Charmian Colston the message has a significance which is different from both Lettie's and Jean Taylor's. Although she is a Catholic she cannot be considered as particularly religious; she is as Jean Taylor defines her "only a woman with a religion" (p.117). The content of the message does not in any way frighten her since as she tells the caller she does not forget about death:

> 'Charmian Piper - that's right, isn't it?'
>
> 'Yes. Are you a reporter?'
>
> 'Remember', he said, 'you must die'.
>
> 'Oh, as to that', she said 'for the past thirty years and more I have thought of it from time to time. My memory is failing in certain respects. I am gone eighty-six. But somehow I do not forget death, whenever that will be'.
>
> 'Delighted to hear it', he said. 'Good-bye for now'.

'Good-bye', she said. 'What paper do you represent?' (p.127)

From the way she reacts to the call, Charmian appears to take the message more as a reminder than a threat. Although she recognizes the religious significance of it, it will be noted from her question to the caller and the statement she makes at the meeting in Henry Mortimer's house that she does not attribute any supernatural identity to the caller:

'What paper do you represent?' (p.127)

'Poor young man', mused Charmian. 'He may be lonely, and simply wanting to talk to people and so he rings them up'. (p.151)

Unlike his wife, Godfrey takes the message as a threat, and feels that paying rates and taxes should serve as adequate protection:

'I'd like to know who the fellow is. I'd like to know why the police haven't got him. It's preposterous, when we pay our rates and taxes, to be threatened like that by a stranger'. (p.124)

Like Lettie he is obviously upset by the message:

'It's upsetting', said Godfrey, 'one might easily take a stroke in consequence. If it occurs again I shall write to the Times'. (p.125)

And at the meeting he is most interested to find out what the motive is:

> 'And what's the motive?' said Godfrey
> 'That's what I ask'. (p.152)

He is however not in any way interested in the religious or moral significance of the message and attempts to stop Henry Mortimer from further philosophizing about it at the meeting:

> '... To remember one's death, is
> in short, a way of life'.
> 'To come the point -' said Godfrey. (p.151)

The main concern of Godfrey is to discover the identity of the caller and stop him; the message has no significance beyond its force as a threat for him.

The opinion Henry Mortimer holds regarding the identity of the anonymous caller seems to be no different from Jean Taylor's although he can by no means be said to show any signs of holding very strong religious views. Like Jean Taylor he considers Death to be behind the mysterious phone calls:

> 'And considering the evidence', he said,
> 'in my opinion the offender is Death himself'. (p.142)

It appears that for him the need to remember death is not due to any religious impetus but as a practice that intensifies life which he explains to those attending the

meeting:

> 'If I had my life over again I should form the habit of nightly composing myself to thoughts of death. I would practise, as it were, the remembrance of death. There is no practice which so intensifies life. Death, when it approaches, ought not to take one by surprise. It should be part of the full expectancy of life. Without an over-present sense of death life is insipid. You might as well live on the whites of eggs'. (p.150)

Very different from the views of the other characters is the opinion of Alec Warner. As a gerontologist he is deeply obsessed with the processes of old age and despite receiving the anonymous call himself, claims that the calls are merely the result of mass hysteria. Echoing Alec Warner's opinion is Mrs Pettigrew who inspite of being a recipient of the call, pretends that it has never occurred to her and dismisses the claims of the others as a figment of the imagination: 'To my dying day I swear it is all make up'. (p.154).

The identity of the caller is never established. The motive remains unknown. To both Jean Taylor and Henry Mortimer it is Death himself. To Jean Taylor "If you don't remember Death, Death reminds you to do so". To Mr Mortimer 'The question of motive may prove to be different in each case ... the offender is, in each case,

whoever we think he is ourselves'. (p.152).

8.7 I think we're a little tired', said Mrs Pettigrew, 'aren't we?' - Register Echoes in Memento Mori.

8.7.1 Introduction.

The aim of this section is modest. It intends to examine three register features found in the speech of certain characters in their interactions in power-sensitive encounters that appear to relate to their power status and see in what ways they are exploited.

We first provide a brief definition of register based on the one given by Halliday et al (1964) together with a short description of the way registers are distinguished. This is followed by a brief examination of the three register features that are related to the concept of power which occur in the text. Finally based on the description of register features given in this section we attempt to analyse the character interactions in which these figure and discover the ways they are employed.

8.7.2 Three Register Features.

There are many contending definitions and descriptions of the term register (cf Rivers (1968); Chiu (1972); Ervin-Tripp (1973); Janicki (1979); etc). However, as the aim of this section is limited, we shall not attempt to make a review of the various descriptions but simply adopt Halliday et al's definition since it appears to be a lucid and detailed one.

Halliday et al (1964: 87) define register as "a variety of a language distinguished according to use". They state that when language is observed in the different contexts in which it occurs, we discover differences in the type of language chosen to fit the different types of situation. Thus a church service is obviously very different linguistically from a seminar or courtroom interaction. They also state that grammar and especially lexis are the crucial criteria which distinguish any given register. They propose a three dimensional approach to defining register types viz according to field of discourse, mode of discourse and style of discourse.

The first, field of discourse, "refers to what is going on: to the area of operation of the language activity" and "under this heading, registers are classified according to the nature of the whole event of which the language activity forms a part" (p.90). Legalese, journalese and the language of academic writing are examples of classification done according to this dimension.

The second mode of discourse, refers to "the medium or mode of the language activity" (p.91). It is concerned with the medium in which language may be manifested namely spoken versus written language.

The third dimension, style of discourse, refers to "the relations among the participants" (p.92). It is a continuum from colloquial to polite (formal) from which speakers make the appropriate choice to suit the situation. Of the various taxonomies proposed regarding style, the one suggested by

Joos (1962) has been frequently quoted. Joos suggests five categories viz frozen, formal, consultative, casual and intimate. We shall provide a definition of the formal category in our discussion of the different register features that occur in the text.

One of the recurrent feature in the speech of one of the characters is the marked use of the first person plural pronoun "we". In their discussion of this pronoun Leech and Svartvik (1975: 57) note the marked use of "we" in doctor-patient discourse: "There is a playful, condescending use of we referring to the hearer, eg a doctor talking to a child patient: 'How are we (='you') feeling today then?" The use may of course extend to other medical staff such as nurses.

The second register feature to be discussed is related to the style of discourse namely formal or in Halliday et al's term polite style. Joos (1962: 26) states that the defining features of this style are (1) Detachment and (2) Cohesion. By detachment is meant the absence of participation including that of the speaker: "He may speak as if he were not present, avoiding such illusions to his own existence as "I, me, mine" with the possible exception of "one" - a formal code-label for "myself" in desperate situations" (p.25). Joos claims that text in the formal style "endeavours to employ only logical links with sedulous care" (p.26). This accounts for his claim that cohesion is one of the defining features. Other related features are expliciteness in pronunciation, lack of

ellipses, cultivation of elaborateness and the "fussy" semantic (ibid). Complex sentences are employed to weave background information into the text. A formal situation demands a formal style but it is also generally accepted that this style has the effect of creating distance between the speaker and the hearer and in certain contexts it can be used as an expression of politeness as is undoubtedly implied by Halliday et al's (1964)use of the term "polite" to refer to this end of the continuum.

The last feature we wish to investigate is connected to adult-child and child-adult discourses. Ervin-Tripp and Strage (1985: 72-75) mention four categories of exchange types in their study of parent-child discourse. These are (1) simplifying exchanges which are accomodations to facilitate comprehension such as speaking slowly, use of lexical items restricted to object, actions that are thought relevant to the child; (2) supporting exchanges which are moves to buttress the child's own speech such as confirming, prompting and eliciting; (3) challenging exchanges which demand that the child produce situationally and grammatically appropriate language and (4) neutral exchanges or unmarked speech that is usual with other adults. Since a child is a subordinate both in terms of knowledge as well as status it is obvious that these factors will be reflected in the speech acts used. Judging from the research carried out in this area (eg Ochs and Schieffelin (1984); Snow and Ferguson (1977); Ervin-Tripp and Strage (1985)) instructing, questioning, prompting, confirming and coaxing appear to figure frequently.

With regard to complexity of language Helfrich (1979: 94) reporting Gronowsky & Krossner's (1970) comparison of the speech of kindergarten teachers talking to each other and talking to their pupils, observes that they found significant differences in use of syntax and semantics. One instance is that adult-to-children speech contained shorter and simpler sentences, and fewer compound and complex sentences, than was the case in teacher-to-teacher discourse.

The way children talk to adults can also be quite unlike the way they talk among themselves. Halfrich (opcit: 95) in his discussion of Hahn's (1948) study of 6 year old children and Houston's (1969) study of 11 year old children mentions that children use simplified syntax and fore-shortened utterances when conversing with teachers and others in authority, while they make use of a greater number of elaborated and compound sentences when conversing with peers. He speculates that the reason for this may be due to the fact that children are afraid of failure and fall into well-practised speech when addressing adults.

8.7.3 Registering Power Status.

The three register features elaborated in the previous section figure prominently in the following three relationships: Charmian - Mrs Pettigrew relationship; Godfrey Colston - Mrs Pettigrew relationship and the Grannies of Maud Long Ward and staff relationship. It will be noted that in all three the concept of power plays a role in one way or another.

We shall first of all examine the use of the pronoun "we".

This occurs in the speech of Mrs Pettigrew in her interactions with both Charmian and Godfrey. From the initial stage of their relationship Mrs Pettigrew appears to regard herself as superior to Charmian whom she describes as an old wreck. Charmian's occasional lapses into confusion are taken advantage of by Mrs Pettigrew in order to assert her authority and is partly reinforced by her mode of discourse including the use of the pronoun "we" to refer to Charmian. Although Leech and Svartvik (1975) describe it as a playful, condescending use, in Mrs Pettigrew's case it appears to be more of a display of authority by treating Charmian as a child as will be seen in the context of the following utterances:

> 'We are a little upset, what with one thing or another', said Mrs Pettigrew. (p.77)

> 'We wouldn't,' said Mrs Pettigrew, 'take our pills this morning, Doctor, I'm afraid'. (p.80)

> 'Not Eric', said Mrs Pettigrew. 'We are a bit confused again this morning'.
>
> 'Are you, my dear? What has happened to confuse you?' said Charmian. (p.105)

While Charmian makes no protest in the first two cases, in the third she throws back the remark at Mrs Pettigrew implying that she will not tolerate being spoken to in this manner. In the second the use of this pronoun in the presence of the doctor puts Mrs Pettigrew in the same category as the doctor and aligns her with him.

Mrs Pettigrew uses the same pronoun with Godfrey when he is upset by the anonymous call and Mrs Pettigrew takes on the superior role of comforter, advisor to Godfrey and adopts and assigns the role of a child tothe latter:

> 'Look here', said Mrs Pettigrew,
> 'let's pull ourselves together, shall we?' (p.121)

She again makes use of the same pronoun in their final encounter when Godfrey, now that he has regained his power status totally ignores her:

> 'I think we're a little tired',
> said Mrs Pettigrew, 'aren't we?' (p.204)

The use of the pronoun "we" in the marked sense by Mrs Pettigrew is reinforced by the use of echoes of adult - child discourse which she uses with both the husband and the wife:

> 'Now hush', she said to Charmian.
> 'Eat your nice scrambled egg which Taylor
> has prepared for you'. (p.106)

> 'Charmian', said Mrs Pettigrew out
> loud, 'come and make yourself comfortable.
> 'I'll take you. Come along'. (p.145)

> 'Sit down. There's a boy' (p.121)

The same style of speech is adopted by the nurses when talking to the grannies:

'Turn over, Granny, that's a good girl'. (p.17)

'Let's rub your legs, Gran. My, you've got beautiful legs'. (p.112)

'And don't get upset like good girls'. (p.117)

Godfrey himself appears to lapse into the elliptical type of discourse used by a child when faced with the anger of an adult on occasions he has to face the wrath of Mrs Pettigrew:

'Not this afternoon', said Godfrey. Don't feel up to it. Draughty office. Next week'. (p.121)

'Buying the paper', said Godfrey. (p.163)

'Wanted a walk', said Godfrey, 'Bit stiff'. (p.163)

'Granddaughter of my friend the poet', said Godfrey. (p.164)

Charmian who may appear to be quite offensive on certain occasions both to Godfrey and Mrs Pettigrew is actually quite polite and so her style of speaking can appear to be formal at times. However, at times she uses this polite style in order to show her displeasure as well as to distance herself from the people she disliked and assert her authority as in the following:

'I think, Mrs Pettigrew, it will not be necessary for you to come in to the drawing-room when I have visitors unless I ring'. (p.64)

'I don't want supper, thank you', said Charmian. 'I enjoyed my tea'. (p.132)

'I can manage quite well, thank you'. (p.132)

It will be seen from this analysis that the use of certain features of a register can be exploited both in displaying attitudes as well as consolidating role relationships in the establishment and maintenance of power and control.

NOTES:

1. Looking from the point of view of forms of address, Hook seems to imply that in American society, a physician even supersedes a clergyman.

2. One male native speaker of English in his early forties who attended such a school as a child recalls using FN with close friends and LN with those less acquainted but he states that he would use FN with the latter if he were to meet them now.

3. An informant in his mid-fifties at managerial level remembers being addressed by LN by a superior when he was a junior member of the staff in his twenties. Now neither he nor his colleagues address their subordinates by their LN but by their FN and even use MN in some cases.

4. Hudson (1980) gives a similar example in a British context. He notes that in some departments in British Universities the problem of what to start calling the head of department is resolved by the person announcing on the first day that everyone is to call him by his FN.

5. Charmian addresses Mrs Anthony, her housekeeper for some nine years, by TLN and in return receives TLN (cf Appendix A). In the case of Jean Taylor, her former maid and companion who had been her service since before her marriage to Godfrey and up to the time she entered hospital, as Lettie points out to Charmian, she addressed her by LN in her younger days and switched to FN later: 'you always called Taylor, "Jean" during her last twenty or so years in your service' (p.12).

6. One informer said that a person might use the address form Granny to address an elderly person for whom one has great affection, especially in cases where neither of that person's grandmothers is alive - in a kind of surrogate grandmother relationship.

7. In one Edinburgh hospital, long term elderly patients are addressed by FN or TLN by the staff depending on their preference and how much intimacy they show to the staff.

8. Lyons (1977: 725) in his introduction to the section on speech-act theory notes that one of the attractive features of this theory is that "it gives explicit recognition to the social or interpersonal dimension of language behaviour ...'

9. Both Lyons (1977) and Levinson (1983) observe that at a later stage Austin shifts from a performative/constative distinction to a general theory that both performatives and constatives are simply sub-classes of performative.

10. See Leech (1983) whose views differ from Searle's. He does not draw a distinction between direct and indirect illocutions and observes that all illocutions are indirect as their force is derived by implicature.

11. Grice's (1975: 45) Co-operative Principle is as follows: Make your conversation contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. Related to the general principle are four maxims that promote efficient communication. These are:

Quality:	Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange). Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
Quantity:	Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
Relation:	Be relevant.
Manner:	Be perspicious. Avoid abscurity of expression. Avoid ambiguity. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). Be orderly.

The flouting of the maxims give rise to conversational implicature which is the conveying of an additional meaning in addition to the literal meaning of the utterance.

12. Thomas (1985a) uses the term bivalence for instances where two forces are intended and plurivalence for instances where more than two forces are intended.

13. According to Thomas (1985a) the meaning of what is said in a given context ie. the assignment of sense and reference.

14. ie. the pragmatic force of an utterance (Thomas (1985a).

15. cf Thomas forthcoming.

CHAPTER 9.

9. The Interpersonal Dimension of Narrative Fiction and its Implications for the Teaching of English Literature in a TEFL Context.

9.0 OUTLINE

This chapter focuses attention on the pedagogical implications of the study of the interpersonal dimension of narrative fiction for the teaching of English Literature in a teaching of English as a foreign language context. We first examine the type of linguistic knowledge involved in carrying out the investigation of this facet of a work of fiction. In the section that follows, we find out in what way this knowledge is incorporated into English Language and Literature courses in an English as a second and a foreign language context. In the next section we shall make a case study of a specific situation of teaching English Literature in the latter type of context and discover why students lack the linguistic ability to deal with this aspect of a fictional text. In the final section, we shall be proposing some solutions to dealing with the problem particularly in a TEFL context.

9.1 Introduction.

As the aim of the analysis in the preceding two chapters is to investigate how the concepts of power and control function in the interpersonal relationships in Memento Mori, the

scope of the study has unavoidably had to be limited to the character-character interpersonal level since nearly all the occurrences of the two features are confined to this level. Nevertheless, the limitations of this analysis should not invalidate the claim that such type of an analysis with some refinement can be usefully employed in the study of the interpersonal network of any literary text, be it a novel or of any other genre. In this connection it should be pointed out that the insight gained from such a study goes far beyond the features under scrutiny. It is obvious that the study of character interpersonal relationships is of immense help in character analysis. This in turn aids us in the study of characterization in the work concerned. At a higher level, drawing from the results of such an analysis, we can also evaluate how an author stands with regards to the concept of character in literature. On the other hand, a study of the character-narrator interpersonal network reveals to us the point of view of the narrator in particular and of the work in general on various planes (psychological, idealogical, phraseological (Uspensky (1973)), and assists us in identifying the theme(s) of a work. Hence the particular approach taken in the study of character relationships in the preceeding two chapters can be claimed to be of immense help in the comprehension, description and evaluation of any literary work.

From the analysis it will be obvious that the type of knowledge of the English language required in carrying out such a study goes far beyond the knowledge of the language system. It is this facet of language awareness in relation to non-

native learners of English Language and literature that we shall be focusing on in this chapter.

9.2 Language and Context.

In order to produce utterancesthat are contextually appropriate and comprehensible interlocutors must possess a knowledge of the language that extends beyond the mastery of the phonological and grammatical rules of the language-system and sense and denotations of the lexical items. Following Hymes (1972a) the term communicative competence has generally been used to denote the type of linguistic awareness that guides us in the proper use of the options available in the language-system to suit various social situations. Lyons (1977) puts forward six different kinds of knowledge or competence which have an influence on the situational appropriateness of utterances. These six types of knowledge or abilities which a participant must possess are:

(i) He/she must know his/her role and status.

(ii) He/she must be aware of the setting.

(iii) He/she must be able to determine the situation in terms of formality.

(iv) He/she must know what medium is approprate to the situation.

(v) He/she must know how to make his/her utterances appropriate to the subject matter.

(vi) He/she must know how to make their utterances appropriate to the province or domain to which the situation belongs.

We shall now discuss each factor briefly beginning with status and role of participants. Lyons (1977: 574) differentiates between two types of roles - social and deictic. Since we are mainly concerned with the social aspect we shall not go into the second type. Lyons (1977: 575) defines social roles as: "cultural-specific functions, institutionalized in a society and recognized in a society by its members". These roles are usually reciprocal such as doctor-to-patient, patient-to-doctor, parent-to-child, child-to-parent and as Peñalosa (1981) points out the role relationship defines the mutual rights and obligations which participants expect of each other. Social role implies status which Lyons (1977: 576) defines as "the relative standing of participants". According to Janicki (1979: 77) status may include such features as sex, age, occupation, income, social origin, and education. We should also differentiate another type of role - psychological role which Van Ek (1975) adopts from Richterich (1972). Psychological role is the way a participant sees himself in relation to the other in such matters as equality, superiority, inferiority, antipathy, sympathy, etc. The perception may or may not coincide with the actual conditions but it has an important bearing on the way participants talk to each other. In this connection Lyons notes that the most common role adopted is the inferior-to- superior type which is "conventionalized in language by means of an accepted code of politeness" (1977: 576).

The most common expression of both role and status in language is, as we saw in our discussion of terms of address , by

means of the use of particular terms of address. But as we saw in our analysis of the various character relationship, these two features may be manifested in other areas of language ranging from the choice of particular speech acts to turn-taking in conversation.

According to Lyons (1977: 579-80) his "ideal omnicompetent speaker of English" should have the capability to control and interrelate appropriately the deictic system and a whole range of secular and religious holidays or feasts. In order to be able to do this and to use time related expressions like greetings, a participant must know where he is in time and space. Location is also important from the point of view of choice of subject matter. For instance, what one talks about in the privacy of one's house might not always be the most appropriate subject matter to discuss in a public place like the street.

In our discussion on register we saw how a continuum exist in style of discourse from colloquial to polite (formal) and we also took note of Joos' (1962) five categories of style. To enable participants to employ the style of discourse most appropriate to the situation or the topic under discussion, participants must first be able to categorize the situation in terms of the degree of formality. Stubbs (1986) observes that the physical setting and occasion of the language activity may influence the choice of style: academic lectures and ceremonials are more likely to choose relatively formal language in comparison to public-house arguments or family breakfast. The switch from one style to another by

a participant may serve as an indication of his/her desire to change the situation and the topic. For example when a student goes to see his lecturer to seek advice with regards to his academic work, the meeting may start off with casual talk in informal style and when the lecturer feels that enough time has been spent on the unimportant, he may indicate that he now wishes to begin discussing more serious issues with a switch to a more formal style. This may be regarded as an instance of Peñalosa's (1981: 66) observation that speech styles often tip off the listener to what he/she is about to hear.

In certain situations the use of a particular medium or linguistic features associated with a particular medium is important if the utterance is to be appropriate. Lyons (1977: 581) notes that there are medium-dependent differences of grammar and vocabulary that are associated with the situational appropriateness of particular utterances and he points out that the graphic medium is generally associated with more formal situations and the phonic with less formal ones. He illustrates this with courtroom interaction where a judge addressing the jury or pronouncing sentence in English uses grammar and vocabulary of the graphic medium although he is actually using the vocal-auditory channel. In Burma, news broadcasts on the radio conform to not only the grammar and vocabulary of the graphic medium but more importantly in certain cases also the pronunciation. (Certain words and particles are pronounced slightly differently if they are pronounced in the way they are spelt). The use of a specific medium can also affect the outcome of an interaction.

Grimshaw (1973: 100) notes that generally written requests are easier to refuse than telephone requests and both of these are easier to refuse than a request made in a face-to-face interaction.

The type of subject-matter under discussion can have an effect on the language employed. Stubbs (1986: 101) claims that topics such as molecular biology or international economics are likely to produce linguistic varieties which are more formal than those used in talking about knitting or roller-skating. Lyons (1977: 583-4) mentions that some speakers might desist from using obscene words in more formal situations and in informal situations in the presence of members of the opposite sex. Similarly the use of obscenities and talk about sex is usually avoided in the presence of young children. Lyons (ibid) also observes that participants need to select elements which make an utterance appropriate to his/her attitude towards or his emotional involvement in, the subject matter he/she is talking about, such as being ironic, scornful, reserved, sentimental, etc. Similarly the participants must also make the appropriate responses to the subject matter raised by the other party. For instance, if one person is talking about say the bereavement he has suffered recently the other cannot make light hearted comments about it but must express the appropriate sentiments.

The last of the different types of knowledge mentioned by Lyons (1977) concerns knowledge about how to make the utterances fit the province or domain to which a situation belongs.

The term domain as first used by Fishman (1965) refers to "a cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules". Fishman relates the domain of language use to three aspects viz subject matter, role-relation, and locale. For example the locale home is usually associated with the domain of family which consists of a network of role-relations such as wife-to-husband, child-to-parent, mother-to-father, etc. Lyons (ibid) states that these three aspects tend to be congruent with each other and are mutually reinforcing. Since there is a three way contrast between one domain and another we can always find differences in language use. For instance the language used by a person talking to his subordinates about their work will differ from the language he uses at home since they contrast in the following ways: the domain: employment vs family; the locale; office/factory vs home; role-relation: boss vs father/husband; subject matter: work vs for example housework/homework.

The term province was introduced by Crystal and Davy (1969:71) and it is defined as "the features of language which identify an utterance with those variables in an extra-linguistic context which are defined with reference to the kind of occupational or professional activity being engaged in". Advertising, newspaper reporting, science and law and the language of public worship are examples of province. Crystal and Davy (opcit:73) also regard conversation as a province but "it is the only case where conventional boundaries are irrelevant". From their analysis of texts belonging to different provinces we see the existence of marked differences among them in some areas of phonology, grammar and syntax and lexis. In his

discussion of province and domain Lyons (1977) point out that the term register as used by Halliday et al (1964) subsunes both terms as well as subject matter. The six types of participant knowledge that Lyons (ibid) mentions cannot be said to be exhaustive but we can say that the list does include the more important ones.

In carrying out a study of the interpersonal relationships in any interaction the focus will admittedly be on the participants and to a certain extent the setting ie. place and time. To set up a profile of the relationship we need to discover the following facts about the interlocutors as in the case of the analysis of character interpersonal relationships in the previous two chapters.

1. social roles.
2. social status.
3. psychological roles.
4. norms of interaction - role rights and role obligations.
5. how far they conform to the norms and how far the norms are negotiated away.
6. differences if any in the social roles and social status on the one hand and psychological roles on the other.
7. whether the psychological roles are expressed verbally, if so what the reaction of the other party is.
8. whether the reciprocal roles are multivalent or univalent.

9. whether the psychological roles are stable, in a flux or just occurrences of minor adjustments in the rights and obligations.

As we saw in the linguistic analysis in the preceding two chapters all these facts emerge in the linguistic transactions that take place between different characters and the framework of the analysis and the linguistic areas defined for analysis serves as a good basis to begin an analysis of the type proposed. In the next section we examine how the different types of linguistic awareness needed to produce contextually appropriate utterances are incorporated in present day English Language and Literature courses in English as a second and English as a foreign language contexts.

9.3 Communicative Competence and English Language and Literature Teaching.

The scope of this section is to examine briefly in what way and to what extent the concept of communicative competence and the various assumptions related to it have been given recognition in the teaching of English Language and literature. It does not intend to review the various approaches and methods of teaching language and literature preceeding the Communicative Language Teaching Approach nor does it intend to discuss their merits and demerits.

The term "communicative competence" as noted in the previous sections was introduced by Hymes (1972b). It contrasts sharply with Chomsky's "linguistic competence" and points out the inadequacies of being competent solely in the language-system. Stern (1983) observes that the main forces of communicative competence is the intuitive grasp of social and cultural rules and meanings that are carried by any utterance. The insight into the social and communicative dimensions of language gained from the work of scholars such as Austin, Searle, Halliday and Hymes in the areas of speech act theory, discourse analysis, the ethnography of communication and functional grammar attracted the attention of those involved in language teaching and has been integrated into the language teaching methodology. As Stern (1983) observes, this acceptance implies that language teaching gives as much importance to the social, interpersonal and cultural dimension as it does to the grammatical and phonological aspects of language. The widespread interest in the communicative dimension of language saw a proliferation of

pedagogical approaches based on the concept. Well known are the Natural Approach, the Immersion Method, the Fully Communicative, Confluent Approach, Psycho-Generative Method, the Silent Way, etc. Among the landmarks of what is generally known as Communicative Language Teaching are Threshold Level English produced by Van Ek (1975) under the auspices of the Council for Cultural Co-operation, Notional Syllabuses by Wilkins (1976) and Widdowson's (1978) work Teaching Language as Communication. The extent to which Threshold level English is based on the communicative aspect of language can be gauged from the various specifications that are made in defining the objectives of language teaching (p.7-8). The following is a summary of these specifications:

1. Specifies the situations in which the learner will need the foreign language, ie. states (i) the roles a learner will have to play; (ii) the settings in which the roles will be played; (iii) the topics required.

2. Specifies what a learner will have to be able to do in these situations, ie. determine the language activities the learner will engage in.

3. Specifies the general purpose the learner will have for using the foreign language, ie. the functions he will have to carry out.

4. Specifies the notions the learner will need to handle.

Wilkins (1976) adopts a slightly different approach by taking the desired communicative capacity as the starting point:

"In drawing up a notional syllabus, instead of asking how speakers of the language express themselves or when and where they use the language, we ask what it is they communicate through language. We are then able to organize language teaching in terms of the content rather than the forms of the language" (p.18). Wilkins thus attributes greater priority to the content of communication than to the form it takes. Widdowson (1976) takes a global approach to communicative competence by discussing all four skills instead of focusing on the oral skill only. His concentration on such aspects as cohesion and coherence and other aspects of discourse organisation however, makes it appear that he is more concerned with "co-textual" appropriateness than "contextual" appropriateness, the appropriate choice of language items according to the role-relation of participants involved in specific activities in a particular setting. However, his contribution in terms of clarifying certain central issues in communicative teaching should not be underestimated. The distinctions he makes between linguistic and communicative categories have helped to clarify the differences between a formal structural approach to language teaching and a functional one.

Stern (1983) notes that attempts have been made to bring a sociolinguistic perspective into the language curriculum through new curriculum designs and through new materials, and techniques of teaching and testing. He indicates that the following are the main features of teaching materials and techniques based on sociolinguistic foundations. These materials usually identify learners in specific roles of

language use, eg. tourists, students, workers, etc. usually in some type of role-relation such as physician-patient, customer-shop assistant, etc. The situations of language use are described, for example visiting the doctor, asking for help from a neighbour, etc. Speech acts which have a high frequency in the situation concerned are analysed and the linguistic manifestations of these acts are presented in texts, dialogues, etc. The students are then invited to enter into the situation as participants. Although it may appear that the emphasis of the communicative approach to language teaching is on the development of speaking skills, we must not forget that communication also involves making correct interpretations of the contributions of the other party, verbal or otherwise, which enable a person to produce contextually as well as co-textually appropriate utterances (cf Widdowson (1978)). Hence communicative competence must be seen to involve not only productive skills but also receptive skills.

One exciting offshoot of the interest in communicative competence in language teaching is the new field of cross-cultural communication, sometimes also know as cross-cultural pragmatics. A good deal of research has focused on attempts to understand the difficulties learners experience in producing contextually appropriate utterances (cf Holmes and Brown (1976); Blum-Kulka (1983); Judd (1983); Richards and Sukwiwat (1983); Thomas (1983)). The insight gained from the research in this field is of value to not only language teaching but also to literature teaching for it may be able to provide us with help in explaining the problems learners face in interpreting certain aspects of the text such as the

interpersonal dimension.

There can be hardly any doubt that there are few English Language course designers who are not aware of the communicative approach to language teaching and have not been influenced by the general enthusiasm to promote spontaneous expression in the target language which is also contextually appropriate. However, it is well worth noting that much as English Language course designers are aware of the advantages of this approach, situational constraints such as the aim of the teaching of English and the practical needs of the learners, may make it impossible to implement any or all of the techniques associated with this approach.

Although as Gilroy-Scott (1983) points out the study of English Literature is not as prestigious as it used to be outside the mother tongue context, judging from the numerous publications available, there is little doubt that for various reasons there is a general revival of interest in the teaching, learning and studying of English Literature. However as Widdowson (1985) observes it is uncertain whether the same can be said of the learning and teaching of it. To dispel any sense of contradiction between the two assertions in the preceding statement it will be useful to note the difference between the terms "study" and "learning". Widdowson (1985: 184) defines them as follows:

> By study I mean enquiry without implication of performance, the pursuit of knowledge about something by some kind of rational or intuitive enquiry, something, therefore, which is given separate third-person status. By learning I mean getting to know how to do something as an involved first-person performer. Study, in this sense, is action which leads to knowledge and extends awareness, whereas learning is

> knowledge which leads to action and develops proficiency.

Seen in this light, the study of literature and the learning of literature are two interrelated but distinct activities with the first presumably following the second if the aim is to develop the students' proficiency in the subject. While not wishing to reduce this section into a mere reproduction of Widdowson's (1985) observations, it is tempting to quote him at length since he expresses extremely well the feelings of all teachers of English Literature in a non-mother tongue context who appreciate the difficulties their students face in mastering the subject as well as the feeling of the students themselves. Most of what Widdowson has to say about the teaching of English Literature in the mother-tongue context is also applicable to what is happening in the non-mother tongue context.

> The most common assumption appears to be that literature teaching is concerned exclusively with study so that students are expected to make critical observations about literary works, on the supposition that they have already learned how to read them. Not surprisingly, students find this difficult to do. One solution (an obvious one, one might think) would be to teach them how to read literature as a necessary preparation for studying it. But this is not the preferred solution. The usual procedure is to instruct students in a sort of simplified version of literary criticism so that they may be given access to significant aspects of the work they are studying without having to go through the bother of learning to read it for themselves. So it is that over recent years in this country, there has been a proliferation of little booklets of potted critical judgements which students

> can use as an effective prophylactic against any personal contact with actual texts. These booklets thus become part of the study of literature and enable students to make critical comments as if they had read the original. So, in a sense, they learn to perform without competence. Overseas there is, if anything even greater reliance on this kind of surrogate for experience, or literary substitute, since, the originals being in a foreign language, the demands make on reading and consequently the appeal of avoidance are ever greater.
>
> In this approach to literature teaching, then, critical comment is elevated to a status not much less prestigious than that of the original literary work and much more influential. The most immediate source of inspiration is not poetry or drama or fiction but the pronouncement of critics.
>
> (Emphasis his)
>
> (1985: 185)

Widdowson (1985) is equally critical of the generally prevalent uncritical assumption that the approach adopted to teaching literature in a mother tongue context will be readily transferable with minor adjustments overseas. He is disheartened by the apathy and lack of dynamism in those involved in teaching literature overseas:

> ... We now turn to English Literature teaching overseas. Here we find a very different state of affairs. There is not comparable dynamism, no interest in innovation, no quest for underlying principles. Things go on as they always have done. The only approach that appears to be practised is one imported long since from a first language context and imposed by force of habit without regard to appropriacy. And this approach is heavily protected against the influence of language study and language teaching. It is difficult to give a fair account of the reasons why this should be so since any debate on the matter tends to degenerate into polemical confrontation, instead of a dispassionately argued

> case, what we very commonly get is the expression of a fixed conviction that the integrity of literature as an aesthetic object can be only experienced directly, cannot be explained and is bound to be irreparably damaged by any attempt to treat it as a use of language. And that's that.
>
> (1985: 181)

While Widdowson's criticisms may sound overly harsh it is not very different from what others who are in touch with the realities of teaching English Literature in a non-mother tongue context have said (cf Bickley (1962); Harrison (1979); Gilroy-Scott (1983); Rodger (1983); Hawkey (1986)). The responsibility for the prevailing standard of English Literature teaching in non-mother tongue context lies with the importer of the teaching method as much as with the exporter. While those involved in language teaching have brought forth one teaching model after another with increasing frequency, (though admittedly not all of them work), in the case of literature teaching very little in terms of methodology has been developed in the home of English literature. The closest that has ever been developed that can be called innovation in main stream literature teaching is close reading introduced by the new critics. Since non-native literature teaching cannot be cut off from its origins, the teachers of English Literature in non-mother tongue context are inevitably influenced by the situation prevailing in the country/countries of its origin and wish to achieve the standards set there. As the number of exporters is limited and the products still more limited, the importers have to accept whatever is sold, be it shoddy, unsuitable or poor in quality. However what Widdowson says of the prevailing situation in English Literature teaching in non-mother tongue must be accepted as fundamentally true.

There appear to be four major preoccupations in the teaching of English Literature in non-mother tongue situations. The first concerns justifying the continued existence of literature courses in the face of questions raised about their value in comparison to language courses. Like the adoption of literature teaching methodology with minor modifications, so also the justifications are sometime imported wholesale from the mother tongue context. Some of these are pre-packaged for export like the following:

> The other, and emerging communities are in a quite different situation. These communities depend upon their present and future development for their very existence as cultural entities, Their constituent peoples of course have their cultural traditions (no people is without them): but the general nature of their own growth and continuity may well be something which few save the professional archeologist or anthropologist can be expected to grasp in a live way.
>
> It will surely be most important that those in position of responsibility in such countries should comprehend what sustained cultural continuity and development are like. But by studying their own past they can learn of such matters only with great difficulty, and perhaps incompletely even then. Proficiency in English, however - and this is something which they require and acquire, for a variety of other purposes - makes the whole development and continuity of a major culture available to them; and it does so through one of the chief and clearest indexes of such matters, literature.
>
> (Holloway (1962)).

It is not surprising that such opinions cause the teaching of foreign literature in some countries that have experienced colonialism to be viewed with suspicion and regarded as a form of cultural subversion and students are often warned not to become too immersed in the culture of the literature they

are studying. To dispel any misunderstanding with regards to the teaching and learning of a foreign literature it is important that when providing the justification for such teaching the reasons given should be realistic and related to the particular needs of the situation and not mere repetitions of impressive thoughts that have been expressed in connection with the teaching of literature in the mother tongue context or views that have been imported from abroad.

The second concern of mainstream English Literature teaching in a non-mother tongue context is the selection of texts. Selection of texts is an important task in planning any literary course. Here too, it is greatly influenced by the texts chosen in the mother tongue context. In most teaching situations, selection is usually made from the short list of texts deemed canonical in Britain and the USA, not all of which may be suitable to the situation or the proficiency level of the students. While in some situations care is taken at least to match the texts to the language proficiency of the learners by beginning with contemporary texts and then moving back in time or using adaptations and abridged texts, in others the texts are presented chronologically as they often are in the mother tongue context.

The third preoccupation appears to be what approach to adopt in teaching literature. According to Kanlaya (1983) some of the current approaches in the teaching of literature are: Cognitive approach, Psychological approach; Moral approach; Mythological approach; Model approach; Sociopolitical approach; Formalistic approach; Intrinsic approach and

Historical-biographical approach. Although the adoption of a specific approach gives the course an appearance of unity and continuity, major limitations are imposed by such a procedure. One serious defect of approach-based literature teaching is that many aspects of a text are usually neglected in favour of those that are relevant in the discussion of the approach. Literary texts thus become mere objects used to illustrate a certain point or promote a certain approach instead of acting as a means of increasing literary awareness in the students and developing his/her individual responses to literary texts.

The fourth preoccupation of orthodox English literature teaching in non-mother tongue context is the type of teaching method employed. There are debates and discussions about the relative merits of methods like lectures, seminars, essay writing, short paper reading by students, dramatic works by students, uses of audiovisual materials like films, videos and tapes and the right number of students in each group. Kanlaya (1983) in her review of the teaching of English Literature notes that in most literature classes in Universities in Thailand the lecture method appears to be the main mode of instruction. Decisions regarding which method to adopt and how much time should be spent using each one are no doubt important in teaching any subject but the preoccupation with such issues shows that such fundamental matters still appear to be unresolved. What then of communicative competence and sociolinguistic knowledge in the teaching and learning of English Literature? In main stream literature teaching this question seems not to have

occurred at all. This does not mean to say that literature teachers do not appreciate the language difficulties of their students. Kanlaya (1983) bemoans the fact that English Literature classes in Thailand proceed at a slow pace because teachers have to spend a vast amount of time "re-establishing basic English Skills" (p.8). This has been said by several others in reference to different teaching situations (cf Povey (1979), Harrison (1979) Hawkey (1985), Brumfit (1986)). The problems faced by literature students due to differences between the cultural background of the literary texts and that of the students have received widespread interest (Gladston (1969), Marckwardt (1978), Trivedi (1978), Steffenson et al (1978), Hughes (1986), Alptekin and Alptekin (1984), Nash (1985)). There is however a significant absence of mention by those involved in main stream literature teaching of the kinds of problems faced by students stemming from the socio-cultural dimension of the language which can be seen as the link between culture and language. Awareness of this dimension of language is part of the communicative competence of a native speaker. To appreciate the importance of communicative competence, especially of the receptive side, in the teaching and learning of English Literature in a non-mother tongue context, we shall be making a case study of a particular English Literature teaching situation in a teaching of English as a foreign language context in the section that follows.

9.4 A Case Study of Teaching of English Literature in a Teaching of English as a Foreign Language Context.

This section is a case study of the teaching of English Literature in Burma, my home country. The study focuses on four aspects: the aim of teaching English in the country, the learners, the English Language courses and the problems and difficulties of teaching and learning literature in relation to the communicative competence of the students.

In Burma, English enjoys the status of the foreign language with which the Burmese are most familiar due to her long association with Britain. As in other countries with a British colonial past, feelings towards the language and the culture are mixed. But its usefulness as a tool for the acquisition of knowledge has always been recognized and it is the only foreign language that is taught as a compulsory subject from kindergarten right up to the final year of the high school. However, its status in the country is that of a foreign language and not a second language. In order to show the distinction between English as a foreign language and English as a second language and their respective characteristics we shall present below the taxonomy presented by Moag (1982). The columns concerning English as a native language and English as a basal language and the section on inter-language features have been omitted since they do not concern us.

Table 11: Sociolinguistic Features of English as a Foreign Language and English as a Second Language.

	Feature	EFL	ESL
		SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURE	
Language Policy			
1.	Degree of Official recognition	low	high
Language Use.			
2.	Percentage of population using English	very low	3% or more
3.	Influence of English-using group in the society	minor	major
4.	Range of activities conducted in English	narrow	broad
5.	Use in formal domains	+	+
6.	Use within informal domains	-	+
7.	Learner/user ratio	high	moderate
Language Acquisition.			
8.	Dominant type of motivation	instru-mental	integrative
9.	Reference group for inte-grative component	external	internal
10.	Secondary external reference group	-	+
11.	Degree of informal learning	minimal	considerable
Language Attitude.			
12.	Prestige to speakers	+/-	+
13.	Prestige in society at large	+/-	+
Bilingualism.			
14.	Individual versus societal	individual	societal
15.	Type of English bilingualism	functional	co-ordinate
16.	Language of higher proficiency	LI	L2
17.	English skills attrition	high	moderate
Models.			
18.	Competence model	native	non-native
19.	Performance model	non-native	non-native
Variation Within English.			
20.	Basis of lectal variation	dominant	communal
21.	Stylistic variation	minimal	moderate
22.	Language distance between varieties	minimal	moderate
23.	Range of registers	minimal	moderate
24.	Rapid speech forms	nil	few

(from Moag (1982: 12-13))

Moag's taxonomy is most suitable for our purpose since it focuses on the sociolinguistic features of language. The use of English in Burma more or less conforms to the features of English as a foreign language category given in the taxonomy. Against this background, we will first examine the teaching of English in the country. We can distinguish two levels of instruction: the first level called the Basic Education level extends from kindergarten to the tenth standard at which level students have to sit for a national examination that also serves as the university entrance examination. The second level known as the Higher Education Level consists of University and Institute level courses.

Since 1961, English has been taught as a compulsory subject at the Basic Education Level from Kindergarten onwards. Moreover, in the final two years at this level, English is gradually being introduced as the medium of instruction for all academic subjects. English is also available as an optional subject in these two standards. At the tertiary level English is part of the curriculum for at least the first two years and for some subjects it may be taught beyond that period.

The statement made by the then Minister for Education, Colonel Hla Han, regarding the role of English in the Basic Education System in a speech given in 1970 has served as a basis in defining the aim of teaching English in Burma at both the Basic as well as the Higher Education Level:

> "We should know the purpose of teaching English. We are certainly not going to learn that language to make ourselves anglicized. The chief purpose is to gain comprehension by reading the works dealing with various branches of knowledge so that we may have among us experts and technicians. We believe that as we master the technique of reading, we will be able to obtain skills in writing and speaking to a certain extent. But we must not lose sight of our goal, that is, reading comprehension".
>
> (English translation from On Pe (1976: 12-13)).

Although since then the aim of teaching English has remained unchanged ie reading comprehension, the role of English in education has expanded enormously since 1981. As part of the effort to improve the standard of education in the country, English has been utilized as the medium of instruction for academic subjects beginning in the penultimate year of the Basic Education Level. The aim of using English as a medium of instruction is to enable students to read extensively books, periodicals and research papers written in English in order to expand their knowledge which they would be unable to do if they were only proficient in Burmese. While not losing sight of the primary goal of reading comprehension, the authorities have shown interest in improving the speaking and writing skills of the students in the English language. Efforts have also been made to give a literary flavour to the teaching of English in order to boost the interest of the students in the subject. The prescribed texts for the various levels now include short stories, tales, excerpts from novels and a selection of poems. Both the compulsory as well as the additional English text-books for Standard Ten are abridged novels supplemented with

a selection of poems. At the tertiary level too, short stories and excerpts from literary texts are used for reading comprehension purposes. Both national Universities - Mandalay and Rangoon offer English major courses and during the academic year 1985-86, nearly 1300 students were enrolled in the two courses. The English major course consists of both literature and language components and as will be seen from the breakdown of lectures, discussions and tutorials for each component, for certain years, there are more classes in literature than language.

Table 12 Number of Classes per Week for Language and Literature Components of the English Major Course.

STUDY YEAR	Number of lectures, discussions, tutorials per week.	
	Language	Literature
First Year	5	5
Second Year	5	10
Third Year	5	10
Fourth Year	10	10
Honours I	10	10
Honours II	10	10
Honours III	10	10

Based on English Major Syllabus.

The English Literature Component of the course follows more or less the traditional approach and its sub-components are genre-based such as Poetry, Novel, Short Story, Drama, Non-Fiction Prose, Literary Criticism, etc. The mode of presentation is mainly lectures supplemented with writing classes, tutorials and discussions.

The aim of the English Major course is to produce graduates who are specialists in the English Language as well as in Burmese to enable them to work as teachers, translators, interpreters, writers, liaison officers, information officers etc., in such departments and ministries as information, trade, education and foreign affairs, tourism, etc. Judging from the roles the English major graduates will have to fill it is obvious that they will have to be proficient in both the English Language and Literature as well as being familiar with British culture in order to be effective communicators.

In order to make certain that the students have the potential to be good language specialists only those who gained a distinction in English and scored more than 60 in Burmese in the matriculation examination are allowed to apply for the course. However, despite the general improvement and extension of the teaching of English at the Basic Education Level it is doubtful whether the transition from one level to the other can be made without much pain and difficulty. The Basic Education Level English course is designed mainly to provide basic skills in the language, especially the development of reading comprehension. Despite the use of

literary texts at the High School Level, judging from the types of questions asked in the examination, the texts are treated more as informative texts than as literary texts.

Although students may have acquired a basic knowledge of the language and a reasonably large stock of vocabulary and moderate reading skills, at the end of the Basic Education High School Course, they can hardly be said to have acquired communicative competence in the language. This is in no way a criticism of the Basic Education English course since the aim of this level as we pointed out previously is reading comprehension with limited use of speaking and writing skills. However, it is quite obvious that these students are inadequately prepared to undertake literary studies for the following three reasons. Firstly as in many other teaching of English as a foreign language situations, the level of linguistic competence of the students is less than adequate to permit them to read the prescribed literary texts competently. Secondly, the reading skills thay have acquired are geared more towards processing the context independent type of information in informative texts than the context-dependent type of information in literary texts. Their rudimentary knowledge tends to make them equate linguistic form and communicative function, and utterances are assigned meaning according to their surface structure instead of examining the way they function in context. Furthermore, since the focus is on the ideational and the textual components of the language rather than the interpersonal level and as texts tend to have their socio-cultural side de-emphasized and students usually have very little experience

of actual language use (as is the case of most English as a foreign language situation as seen from Moag's taxonomy), students do not normally notice the subtle use of language to convey different shades of interpersonal meaning which, as we have seen in our analysis of the text in the previous two chapters, is an important feature of literary texts.

In order to find out how sensitive students have become to the socio-pragmatic aspect of the language near the end of their course an informal task was devised and administered to twenty-five Honours III students majoring in English at Rangoon University. The task consisted of six sentences which could be employed in asking a person to lend the speaker his/her pen and the students were asked to grade the sentences according to the degree of politeness expressed (cf Appendix B). The six sentences were taken from Brown and Levinson (1978) who had already graded them in terms of politeness using their intuitions as native speakers of the language. They were modified slightly to match the structure of the sentences to the object being asked for. In the original sentences the object to be borrowed was a car.

Although, we cannot attribute very much to the results bearing in mind the informal nature of the task, the limited number involved in the task and especially the strong criticism voiced by Thomas (1985) and Henzell-Thomas (personal communication) about the weaknesses of such decontextualized tasks.

Below are the sentences used in the informal task in the

order they were presented to the students:

a) May I borrow your pen, please?

b) Could you possibly by any chance lend me your pen for just a few minutes?

c) I'd like to borrow your pen if you wouldn't mind.

d) Lend me you pen.

e) There wouldn't I suppose be any chance of your being able to lend me your pen for just a few minutes, would there?

f) Would you have any objections to my borrowing your pen for a while?

The most interesting fact emerging from the investigation is that out of the twenty-five students 60% chose (a) May I borrow your pen, please? as the most polite while only 20% chose sentence (e) There wouldn't I suppose be any chance of your being able to lend me your pen for just a few minutes, would there? and another 44% thought sentence (e) to be the second least polite form (cf Appendix C). One reason for 60% of the group opting for sentence (a) as the most polite form could be due to their exposure to this polite form from the early stages of their learning English and their lack of familiarity with the other forms and hence their ignorance of their relative degrees of politeness.

While it would be impossible to attribute too much weight to the result due to the reasons stated previously, it does make us wonder what may be revealed by a more rigorous, systematic and valid investigation of the communicative competence of students in general and of their socio-pragmatic

knowledge in particular. It should also make us wonder how students fare in the light of the kind of socio-linguistic knowledge required in the study of the interpersonal dimension of Memento Mori. It should also make us think how much students can miss in a literary text and how much they misinterpret and to what extent it affects their comprehension of the text when they lack knowledge of the socio-linguistic dimension of the language.

In the final section of the chapter, we examine some of the ways in which we can develop the awareness of the socio-linguistic dimension of the language in our literature students.

9.5 The Interpersonal Dimension: A Matter of Consciousness Raising.

In the previous two chapters, the discussion of teaching and learning English literature in connection with communicative competence was considered mainly, in relation to mainstream orthodox English literature teaching. In the discussion attention was drawn to the fact that traditional literature teaching does not differentiate between the study of literature and the learning of literature and that while the approach may have the ultimate aim of promoting individual responses to literary texts, the method adopted appears rather to foster the dependency on learned critical opinions. Widdowson (1985) was also quoted as saying that the approach adopted in teaching English literature overseas is strongly protected against the influence of language teaching and learning. It is possible to add another criticism to the many about the teaching of English literature in a non-mother tongue context - far too great reliance is placed on the student's ability to cope with the approach and type of course that was orginally devised for students in the mother tongue context. In the majority of teaching situations the aims of the course are hardly ever realized simply because the goals set are unrealistic.

In this section the discussion of teaching English literature at the tertiary level will be focused on the one issue of the interpersonal dimension in narrative fiction and in relation to one teaching situation, the English as a foreign language context. However, since the interpersonal dimension of a

text is intertwined with many other aspects of a literary text what is said in this context may also be of relevance to the discussion of other aspects also.

The reading of literature as Black (1980) observes implies interpretation and for the students of literature also the ability to explain and justify their interpretation. If we wish to develop the students' critical interpretation and their ability to articulate it, we will need to go beyond the method of feeding them with ready made interpretations and allowing them to reproduce these in the examination. This is not to say that texts should be let loose on the students so that they will gain the ability to interpret texts using the hit or miss technique. What is being advocated is the provision of the necessary skills to handle texts drawing insights from whichever field can provide them. With regard to the interpersonal dimension of narrative fiction judging from the comparison between the kinds of linguistic knowledge needed to discuss this aspect of the text in the previous two chapters and the six types of knowledge that Lyons (1977) says form part of the communicative competence of a native speaker they appear very largely to coincide. However, this is not the type ofcompetence that is aimed at or can be expected of a pre-tertiary level English course and as Moag (1982) shows in an EFL situation such knowledge can rarely be acquired outside the classroon and it is therefore unrealistic and unfair to expect the students who enter the tertiary level to carry out such an investigation by themselves without providing them with the means for doing so. While a tertiary level student may be able to make a limited evaluation of

certain aspects of the dimension from what he/she knows of his own language and what little he/she knows of English, it is obvious that he/she will miss a lot of what can be discovered in the text as well as misinterpret many aspects. A case in point is the English address system. Although non-native students at the tertiary level will be quite familiar with such basic facts as the difference between first name and last name and variation in the use of titles according to gender and in the case of Miss and Mrs according to marital status, it is doubtful whether their knowledge goes beyond this. Unless the teacher points out the interpersonal significance of any marked use in the text, it is certain the students will overlook them. Since such features may be considered as minor elements in the text the teacher himself/herself may overlook them forgetting that although a feature may be of minor significance in an individual scene or episode, seen in terms of its occurrence in the text as a whole a pattern may emerge and form a significant element in the text. There are certain facts about a language-system which a native speaker rightly assumes to be extremely basic but which non-native students of the language may be quite ignorant of. Hence as Black (1980: 183) points out "the L2 reader needs not only a deep knowledge of the target language, but to have made explicit to him matters which a native reader intuitively recognises."

While the application of linguistic knowledge to literary studies is anathema to orthodox literature teaching, other approaches such as literary stylistics and language based

literature teaching have for some time been advocating the use of insights gained from various fields of linguistics as an integral part of teaching literature in both English as a mother tongue as well as non-mother tongue contexts. Rodger (1983) calls for students of English literature in an English as a second language context to have both 'communicative-awareness' and 'language consciousness'. The first relates to the ability to "recognise the special conventions that operate within the domain of literary communication in general, which are more often implicit than explicit" (p.39). The second ability relates to "how to go about making sense of the ways in which authors, especially poets exploit the possibilities latent in the established code or system of the language in order to create and convey their own uniquely personal kinds of meaning" (p.39). In order to possess the two abilities, Rodger (1983: 45) maintains that students must have communicative competence in the target language "which is as close as possible to that of a highly educated native user of it".

In recent times others involved in teaching English literature to overseas students have also shown interest in the types of linguistic knowledge necessary to the processing of literary texts. Black (1980) demonstrates the usefulness of register studies in the analysis of literary texts. Similarly, Ronberg (1985) relating his experiences as a teacher of foreign students of English literature notes that the language-learning component of the university courses his students attended at home has not been sufficiently geared towards increased understanding and appreciation of literary texts. He claims that sensitizing students to social registers is

essential to the study of literature. Nash (1985) in his discussion on the role of literature in language teaching points out the need to have a sense of culture. a sense of discourse and a sense of language to achieve literary competence. Of particular interest to us is the second of the senses - a sense of discourse, Nash (ibid) uses the term in three interrelated senses. The first refers to processes of text making - "principles of argument, exposition, and narrative" (p.17). The second sense is that of "the patterns of progression and cohesion, the words and phrases that unmistakably denote the framing of a text" (p.17). The third refers to 'modes of presentation, eg. description, dialogue, the projection of "internalized" speech' (p.18). It is the third sense of discourse in relation to the other two senses, ie. culture and language that form the basis of the study of the interpersonal dimension of a literary text.

Since it is at the level of the interpersonal dimension of a literary text that the interactional features of a language are most visible the student will need to be familiar with the interactional norms and the rights and obligations of the participants in a specific type of relationship in order to be able to arrive at correct interpretations. Hence the students will not only need to possess a high level of sophistication in the language but also a sensitivity to how language is being manipulated in order to convey interpersonal meaning. Although the language component of the tertiary course may have the aim of developing the communicative competence of the student, the development will usually focus on practice more than explanation. Moreover, however comprehensive a language

course tries to be it will not be able to match the different kinds of interactional situations a student will come across in literary texts. Nor will language courses be able to convey the many subtleties of an actual interactional situation and the various ways interpersonal meaning is communicated. Thus what is essential is to provide the students with the kind of knowledge that will help them in the evaluation of this dimension of texts, an awareness of how language features are exploited to convey interpersonal meaning. This calls for 'consciousness raising' in the interactional aspects of language similar to what Rutherford and Smith (1985: 124) advocate for the acquisition of grammatical structure. By the term consciousness raising they mean "the deliberate attempt to draw attention to the formal properties of the target language". In our case the students' attention will be drawn to rules pertaining to the communication of interpersonal meaning in verbal interactions.

The body of knowledge required in the study in this aspect of language will have sociolinguistics as its core with insights drawn from interrelated fields such as functional grammar, pragmatics, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, sociology of language, etc. The type of sociolinguistic knowledge required is more restricted than the areas covered under traditional sociolinguistics and is similar in lines to the pedagogical sociolinguistics proposed by Janicki (1979). She maintains that pedagogical sociolinguistics "will aim at selecting only those sociolinguistic facts than can potentially contribute to the native-like mastery of the foreign language" (p.8) and she excludes areas such as the origin of

Black English Vernacular and methods of isolating contextual styles from the study. For our purpose language features dealt with in chapter 7 and 8 should serve as a good starting point but admittedly this will need to be expanded vastly if our investigation includes other dimensions of relationship in addition to that of power.

Although it is possible to deal with various features of this dimension of language as they crop up in each literary text, there is no doubt that it would be more effective were the knowledge presented as a separate component of the course. This suggestion is not as radical as it sounds bearing in mind that subjects such as western civilization and the history of western intellectual development form part of may English Literature courses to provide background knowledge. The benefits are that not only will students develop a better understanding of a great many facets of the text, but they will also acquire a metalanguage to explain effectively and systematically their interpretations. Moreover, this component of the course should also be useful to the language component of the course in developing the communicative competence in the language and a greater sensitivity to the language as a whole which should be of no small help in their future careers as builders of bridges between their own culture and other cultures and fostering better understanding between their country and the world at large. As an area of overlap between literature and language it will raise the consciousness of the teachers in the two fields with regards to the inherent link between them and encourage closer co-operation between literature and language teachers and act as

an incentive to forge closer links between the two disciplines. Thus the possible outcome from the focus on the interpersonal dimension of a literary text and the introduction of a separate course component that will facilitate its study are innumerable.

CONCLUSION

The interest of this research it will be gauged from the main body of the thesis is four fold: the interpersonal dimension in narrative fiction, linguistic concepts and a system to analyse the interpersonal network in a text, the theme of power and control in Memento Mori and finally the pedagogical value of focusing the students' attention on the interpersonal facet of a literary text. I shall now examine each of these and discuss to what extent my aim has been achieved regarding each area.

It will be noted from the brief review of research into the interpersonal dimension of a literary text that the interest in this area as a separate field is a recent phenomenon and its origins may be traced to the introduction of this term in the study of language functions by Halliday and the trend to view literature as discourse or as 'social discourse' according to Fowler (1981) rather then as an object. Prior to this although there has been a vast amount of research which included certain aspects of it, texts have not really been viewed from an interpersonal perspective. It will therefore not be wrong to make the claim that research into the area is still very much in its infancy. Thus what was presented of the interpersonal dimension of literary text has been the result of sifting through research whose focus is on non-literary discourse. Hence it must be admitted that the picture presented of the interpersonal dimension is extremely basic, incomplete and very tentative and a great

deal of research needs to be done in the area to sharpen the picture.

Regarding the concepts and a system for analysing this dimension of the text, Halliday's work on the interpersonal function of language has been of great use as a source for basic concepts and guidelines. However as was hinted in Chapter 3, his discussion of the interpersonal function of language has been more or less restricted to the clause level and what we are actually dealing with is interpersonal function at the discourse level. What Halliday says of the interpersonal function of language at the level although useful did not prove to be adequate and it was therefore necessary to look beyond the single utterance level. Once we go beyond this level we need to be more aware of the contextual and other aspects of discourse which is indeed a very complex area. Hence it was extremely important to take into consideration the social role of the speaker in defining the kind of interpersonal meaning being conveyed. As such it was important to take into account concepts and insights from sociolinguistics, pragmatics and conversational analysis in order to arrive at some sort of a system to analyse the character relationships in Memento Mori. In drawing up a linguistic check list for observing the interpersonal network in Memento Mori the works of Leech and Short (1981), Fowler (1977, 1981, 1986), Fowler et al (1979) have all been useful sources. However, since my interest was on the power and control aspect of the interpersonal dimension it was necessary for me to enlarge it by

drawing on the analyses of power-sensitive encounters in the field of discourse analysis and socio-pragmatics. These however mainly deal with encounters in institutional settings and an attempt was made to relate these observations to non-institutionalized settings such as the context in which the characters in Memento Mori are interacting. Hence much effort has been put in to make the linguistic analysis of the function of interpersonal power in the text as complete as possible.

Exercising power and control in interpersoanl relationships may be said to be a universal feature in human relationship and many works of fiction have absorbed it as at least a motif in the work; sometimes it may be an overt feature of the text and sometimes it may be woven intricately into the structure as it is in Memento Mori. Be that as it may, a linguistic analysis of this aspect, as my analyses hopefully have testified, is most fruitful and revealing. The type of analysis carried out it is hoped will be useful to others in observing similar features in other literary works.

The main issue emerging from the focus on the pedagogical value of the text is the issue of the communicative competence of the students of English Literature in a non-mother tongue context. There is no denying that whatever aspect of a literary text a student deals with he/she needs a high level of proficiency in the language. However this may not be so obvious in traditional approaches to literature teaching since students are

either more or less spoon fed with regards to the kind of opinions they should hold of a particular text or they can get similar help from what Widdowson (1985) calls "little booklets of potted critical judgements" which are learnt by heart, not always perfectly, and reproduced in essays and examinations. Thus the kind of study advocated by literary stylistics and language based literature teaching makes demands on the students' competence in the language but it must be accepted that these methods train learners to become independent readers of literary texts capable of making their own interpretations and judgements. Since the students are also provided with a meta-language they are also capable of discussing their interpretations. The focus on the interpersonal dimension of the text makes even more demands on the students as they will need a near native level of communicative competence of the receptive kind in order to process the text and discover the interpersonal significance of particular choices from the options available in the language-system. It is extremely doubtful whether in so few years at the tertiary level students will be able to acquire the level of competence needed from the language teaching component of the course (if there is one) or from the literature course itself. However all is not lost. It is still possible to develop such a type of competence at least on the receptive side by means of, to repeat what has been said in Chapter 9, "consciousness raising". There should be no problems in adopting this approach since the students are mature enough to be taught in this fashion and are quite able to make judgements about language features in their own language from a sociolinguistic point of

view. I therefore strongly advocate for an introduction of "pedagogical sociolinguistics" from the early stages of the literature course which will be of immense help to students both in learning language as well as in learning literature.

APPENDIX A

Terms of Address in Selective Interactions in Memento Mori

1. Charmian Colston - Mabel Pettigrew Interaction.

(CC = Charmian Colston; MP = Mabel Pettigrew)

No.	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remark
1	55	MP	Mrs Colston	'Oh, Mrs Colston, I was just wondering if you were tired.	
2	55	CC	Zero	You may take the tea-things away.	In reply to 1.
3	56	MP	Mrs Colston	'Now, Mrs Colston just a moment while Mr Alec Warner tells us about democracy'.	
4	64	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'I think, Mrs Pettigrew -'	Spoken sharply.
5	64	MP	.....	'Oh, do call me Mabel and be friendly'	In reply to 4
6	64	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'I think, Mrs Pettigrew, it will not be necessary for you to come in to the drawing-room when I have visitors.'	In reply to 5
7	64	MP	Zero	'Good-night'.	In reply to 6
8	75	MP	dear	'No'...'you are mistaken, dear. Take your pills'.	
9	75	MP	dear	'Take your pills, dear'.	
10	105	CC	my dear	'Are you, my dear? What has happened to confuse you?'	
11	108	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'... as was my uncle Mrs Pettigrew-'	
12	108	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'... I am just telling Mrs Pettigrew ...'	To Godfrey
13	108	MP	.....	'Oh, do call me Mabel', said Mrs Pettigrew winking at Godfrey.	

APPENDIX A.. Cont'd.

No.	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remark
14	108	CC	Mabel	'Her uncle, Mabel ... was a rector.	In response to 13
15	108	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	We had not a great deal in common, Mrs Pettigrew...'	Continuation of 14
16	108	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'Well, Mrs Pettigrew I do so remember...'	Continua- of 15
17	122	MP	Zero	She came back presently and addressed Charmian 'For you'... 'The photographer wants to come tomorrow at four'.	Marked for not using name in utterance
18	131	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'You have been out all afternoon, haven't you, Mrs Pettigrew?'	
19	131	MP	.....	'Mabel'.	In response to 18.
20	131	CC	Mabel	'Haven't you, Mabel?'	In response to 19
21	132	MP	Charmian	'You're worse than Charmian'.	Said to Godfrey.
22	145	MP	Charmian	'Charmian',... 'come and make yourself comfortable. I'll take you. Come along'.	Use of FN for the first time to address Charmian.
23	155	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'Oh, its you, Mrs Pettigrew.'	
24	156	CC	Mabel	'I didn't hear you knock, Mabel'.	Use of FN for the first time to address MP without her prompting
25	156	CC	Mabel	'Sit down, Mabel'.	

APPENDIX A. Cont'd.

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remarks
26	158	CC	Mabel	'Have you had asthma before, Mabel?'	
27	158	CC	Mabel	'You have great courage, Mabel'.	
28	165	CC	Mrs Pettigrew	'Mrs Pettigrew thinks too, it will be the	To Godfrey
29	161	CC	Mabel	best course - don't you, Mabel?'	

2. Godfrey Colston - Mabel Pettigrew Interaction

(C G = Godfrey Colston)

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remarks
1	30	MP	Mr Colston	'Well, Mr Colston, as I was saying', ...'I can't make any plans, myself...'	
2	75	MP	Mr Colston	'I beg you pardon, Mr Colston, she was before my time'.	
3	120	MP	Godfrey	'Who was that on the phone, Godfrey?'	
4	132	GC	Mabel	'I say I'll see him tomorrow, Mabel'.	
5	132	GC	Mabel	'Yes, yes, Mabel...' 'Don't let Mrs Anthony hear you'.	
6	132	MP	Godfrey	'Look here, Godfrey you have no evidence against me'.	
7	133	MP	Godfrey	'Is that all you have to think about? I ask you Godfrey, is that all..?	Author's italics
8	159	MP	Godfrey	'You're more of a hinderance to Godfrey here than you would be in a nursing home'.	To Charmian

APPENDIX A .. Cont'd.

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remark
9	164	MP	Godfrey	'The lights, Godfrey', said Mrs Pettigrew in a tired voice.	
10	164	MP	Godfrey	'Of course, Godfrey this will be a blow to you'.	
11	201	MP	Godfrey	'... after all I've done for Godfrey and Charmian, I'm entitled to -'	To Eric Colston
12	203	GC	Mrs Pettigrew	'I'm getting rid of Mrs Pettigrew'. ...'A most domineering bitch'.	To Charmian
13	204	MP	Godfrey	'Eric wishes to speak to you, Godfrey'	
14	204	MP	Godfrey	'Be reasonable, Godfrey'.	
15	204	MP	Godfrey	'Did you forget to leave the car lights on, Godfrey'.	

3. Inmates of Maud Long Ward - Doctor and Staff

(N = Nurse; D= Doctor; JT = Jean Taylor; GD = Granny Duncan; GB = Granny Barnacle; WS = Ward Sister; GV = Granny Valvona)

No.	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remark
1	16	N	Granny	'Goin to leave me a hundred quid, Granny ?'	to GB
2	16	D	Granny	'Well, Granny Barnacle, am I to be remembered or not?'	
3	16	GB	Doctor	'You're down for a thousand, Doc'.	
4	16	D	my girl	'I'll bet you're got a long stocking my girl'.	
5	17	N	Granny Taylor	'You'll be better now, Granny Taylor'.	

APPENDIX A Cont'd.

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remark
6	17	JT	Nurse	'Thank you, nurse'.	
7	17	N	Granny	'Turn over, Granny, that's a good girl'.	
8	17	JT	Nurse	'Very well, nurse'.	
9	18	GV	Nurse	'Wait, nurse. I'll read you horoscope'.	
10	19	N	Granny Valvona	'I've to go Granny ... '	
11	46	GD	The Ward Sister	'Fetch the ward sister to me'.	To Nurse
12	46	WS	Granny Duncan	'Well, Granny Duncan, what's the matter?'	
13	46	GD	My good woman	This meat my good woman'.	To ward sister
14	47	WS	my dear	'Fire ahead, tell your niece, my dear'.	Author's italics.
15	47	N	Granny	'Ah, but Granny, it was her second stroke'.	
16	49	D	Granny	'Take it easy, Granny'.	
17	49	GB	Sister Bastard	'If Sister Bastard comes back, I go'.	To Doctor
18	49	GB	Doc that bitch	'Ah, doc, I don't feel too bloody good with that bitch in charge'.	To Doctor That Bitch refers to Sister Burstead
19	49	D	Granny	'We are trying to help you, Granny'.	
20	111	GB	Sister Bastard	'Sister Bastard was too skinny'.	Refer to Ward Sister
21	112	GB	Nurse	'Nurse, I'll be covered with bruises.'	Sister Burstead

APPENDIX A Cont'd.

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remark
22	112	GB	Gran	'If you don't move Gran, you'll be covered with bed-sores'.	
23	112	N	Gran	'Come on, Gran, you've got to get exercise'.	
24	112	N	Gran	'Let's rub your legs Gran..My you've got beautiful legs'.	
25	113	N	Granny	'It's hygene Granny'.	
26	113	N	Granny Barnacle	'Let's give you a nice wave today, Granny Barnacle'.	
27	113	GB	Love	'Get me out of bed, love', she implored the nurse, 'Let's sit up today,	Reference to Sister Burstead
			Bastard	seeing Bastard's gone'.	
28	113	GB	Nurse	'Nurse, I want to get up today'.	
29	113	N	Granny Barnacle	'Lie still, Granny Barnacle...'	
30	114	GB	Nurse	'Nurse, I'm going to get up today'.	
31	114	N	Gran	'Your blood press-ure's high, Gran'.	
32	114	GB	girl	'Her last name, girl'	
	117	NS	good girl	'But don't get upset like good girls.'	To Nurse
33	118	GB	Nurse	'Don't you be rough with her, Nurse!'.	

4. Mrs Pettigrew - Mrs Anthony Interaction with Focus on Reference to Godfrey and Charmian.

(A = Mrs Anthony)

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remarks
1	54	MP	this lot	'I don't envy you with this lot,' Mrs	

APPENDIX A Cont'd.

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remarks
				Pettigrew indicated with her head the kitchen door, meaning the Colstons...	
2.	54	A	he/she	'He's a but tight, but she's nice, I like her'.	Author's italics
3	54	MP	he	'He's tight with the money?'	
4	55	A	her	'Old Warner still with her?'	Author's italics
5	55	NP	she	'I'm going in,...' 'Whether she likes it or whether she doesn't...'	1-5 continuous dialogue
6	80	MP	that mad-woman	... berated Mrs Anthony for 'taking that mad-woman's part this morning'.	
7	61	A	Mrs Colston	'Mrs Colston is a person who needs a bit of understanding ...'	
8	81	MP	Mr Colston	'I shall speak to Mr Colston...'	
9	81	A	him	'Him'.. 'Go and speak to him'	

5. Mrs Anthony - Godfrey and Charmian Colston Interaction

No	Page	Speaker	Address Form	Context	Remarks
1	12	CC	Taylor	'Did you have a nice evening at the pictures, Taylor?'	To Mrs Anthony
2	12	A	Mrs Colston	'Yes, thanks,.Mrs Colston'.	In respons to 1.
3	14	CC	Taylor	'Ah, Taylor, how old are you?'	
4	14	A	Mrs Colston	'Sixty-nine, Mrs Colston'.	
5	14	CC	Taylor	'That will be splendid, Taylor'.	

APPENDIX A Cont'd.

No	Page	Speaker	Address form	Context	Remarks
6	32	GC	Mrs Anthony	'Mrs Anthony, you're a Roman Catholic, aren't you?'	
7	33	A	Mr Colston	'Well, as I say, Mr. Colston...'	
8	33	A	Mr Colston	'I see, Mr Colston...'	
9	33	GC	Mrs Anthony	'And you too, Mrs Anthony'.	
10	33	A	Mr Colston	'O.K, Mr Colston'	
11	55	CC	Taylor	'Thank you, Taylor'	
12	77	CC	Taylor	'Taylor, did you see my early tea-tray when it came down?'	
13	77	A	Mrs Colston	'What did you say about the tea-tray, Mrs Colston?'	
14	84	CC	Taylor	'Oh, I shouldn't have kept Taylor talking'.	To Mrs Pettigrew
15	84	CC	Mrs Anthony	'Oh, dear. Do go and see how Mrs Anthony is getting on'.	To Mrs Pettigrew
16	85	GC	Mrs Anthony	'Mrs Anthony has given notice ...'	To Charmian
17	203	GC	Mrs Anthony	'A most domineering bitch. Always upsetting Mrs Anthony'	To Charmian

APPENDIX B.

Informal Task Given to B A Honours III Students majoring in English.

I am carrying out research to find out how people use language. I would appreciate very much if you could assist me by doing the following task. You may take as much time as you like but the task should not take you more than ten minutes.

Since there is no information provided about the context in which the sentences might be spoken, or how the speaker may be using intonation or stress to convey his/her attitudes, please try to consider just the sentences themselves.

Each sentence in the group could be used to ask the listener to lend him/her pen. However, they do not express the same level of politeness. Please number them from (1) to (6) in the brackets provided according to the level of politeness expressed. Number the sentence expressing the most politeness (1) and the least (6).

a. May I borrow your pen please? ( )

b. Could you possibly by any chance lend me your pen for just a few minutes? ( )

c. I'd like to borrow your pen if you wouldn't mind. ( )

d. Lend me your pen. ( )

e. There wouldn't I suppose be any chance of your being able to lend me your pen for just a few minutes, would there? ( )

f. Would you have any objections to my borrowing your pen for a while? ( )

APPENDIX C.

Ranking of Sentences by Students given in Percentage.

tence	Ranking Made by Students Given in Percentage					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
e	20%	8%	8%	6%	44%	4%
b	16%	44%	32%	8%	Nil	Nil
f	4%	28%	12%	36%	20%	Nil
c	Nil	8%	40%	24%	28%	Nil
a	60%	12%	8%	12%	8%	Nil
d	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	4%	96%

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